

JPRS 83953

21 July 1983

Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2823



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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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CONTENTS

ANGOLA

Study Assesses Country's Potential for Foreign Investment (WEST AFRICA, 27 Jun 83)	1
Country's Economic Potential, Foreign Trade Examined (Colm Foy; WEST AFRICA, 13 Jun 83)	3
UNITA's Structure, Propaganda Tactics Reported (AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL, 25 May 83)	9
Briefs	
TAAG Acquires New Plane	11
Cuban Study of Angolan Salt	11
New Ambassadors	11
Oil Sale	11
Economic Prospects Survey	11
Cabinda Foreign Exchange Bureau Opens	12

CAPE VERDE

Inflation Ranges Between 35, 40 Percent 1981-1983 (JORNAL DE ANGOLA, 17 Jun 83)	13
State Launches Agrarian Reform; Purchase of Tuna Boats (JORNAL DE ANGOLA, 16 June 83)	15

CHAD

Goukouni Reportedly Controls One Third of Country (Mark Doyle; WEST AFRICA, 4 Jul 83)	17
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

GAMBIA

Chief Police Inspector Imprisoned for Corruption (Baboucarr Gaye; WEST AFRICA, 4 Jul 83)	19
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

GHANA

SIB Murder Investigation Report, Followup Reported (Nii K. Bentsi-Enchill; WEST AFRICA, 13 Jun 83)	20
Support for Rawlings Urged (Accra Domestic Service, 30 Jun 83)	23
Briefs	
Fuel Shortage	25
Fuel Coupons	25
Refinery Shut-Down	26

GUINEA

Paris Talks Fail To Yield Economic Cooperation Accords (WEST AFRICA, 30 May 83)	27
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

LIBERIA

Korean Imports Expected To Increase (DAILY OBSERVER, 2 Jun 83)	28
-------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

MALAWI

Members of Parliament Reminded of Duties (Blantyre Domestic Service, 4 Jul 83)	29
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

MALI

Interior Minister Sees OAU as Political Necessity (L'ESSOR, 26 May 83)	31
Briefs	
Japanese Aid	35

MOZAMBIQUE

Power Will Be Ours by 1985, Says MNR (THE STAR, 3 Jun 83)	36
Trade Minister Addresses Envoys on Drought (Maputo in English to Southern Africa, 28 Jun 83).....	37

NIGER

Lessons To Be Drawn From Chadian Example Cited (Editorial, Harouna Niandou; LE SAHEL, 27 Jun 83)	38
Kountche Disappointed by Work of Development Partner (LE SAHEL, 27 Jun 83)	40

NIGERIA

Kaduna Political Scene Examined (Ismaila Mohammed; SUNDAY TRIUMPH, 12 Jun 83)	42
Probable Outcome of Elections Discussed (Ejila A. Oyibi; NEW NIGERIAN, 7 Jun 83)	45
Shagari Victory Presages Hard Times, Says Correspondent (Sonni Anyang; SUNDAY TRIUMPH, 12 Jun 83)	48
Mass Exit of Incumbent Legislators Worries Ogbe (Omoghene Onojake; NEW NIGERIAN, 13 Jun 83)	50
Government Advised To Develop Chemical Industry (Jackson Imafidon; BUSINESS TIMES, 13 Jun 83)	51
Further Reportage on Northern Religious Strife (Raymond Hickey; NIGRIZIA, May 83)	52
Noted Economist Says Nation 'Grossly Underbanked' (Chima Nwafo; BUSINESS TIMES, 13 Jun 83)	56
Need for New Leadership Seen (Kasirim Nwuke; SUNDAY TRIUMPH, 12 Jun 83)	57
Lekwot Calls for Cordial Relations Between Army, Government (Nkomah Monday; DAILY STAR, 13 Jun 83)	59
Increasing Militarization of Society Feared (NEW NIGERIAN, 4 Jun 83)	60
Details on Trade Relations Given (BUSINESS TIMES, 13 Jun 83)	61
NNPC Highlights NEPA's Problems (Enyina Iroha; BUSINESS TIMES, 20 Jun 83)	62
Manufactured Animal Feed Demand Increases (Dapo Ajibola; BUSINESS TIMES, 13 Jun 83)	64

SENEGAL

Three French Financing Agreements Signed (LE SOLEIL, various dates)	65
Results of Joint German-Senegalese Commission Meeting (A. Fall; LE SOLEIL, 14 Jun 83)	67

SEYCHELLES

Regional Scientific Research Program To Be Set Up (NATION, 27 Jun 83)	69
Briefs	
Cooperation With China	71

SIERRA LEONE

New Moroccan Ambassador Speaks on Cooperation (Freetown Domestic Service, 5 Jul 83)	72
Briefs	
British Help Bridging Project	74

SOUTH AFRICA

Islamic Council President's Message Reported (Farook Khan; THE DAILY NEWS, 10 Jun 83)	75
Islamic Religious Body Faces Major Split (THE DAILY NEWS, 8 Jun 83)	77
Foreign Trade Problems Examined (SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES, 12 Jun 83)	78
German Bank Makes Presence Felt in Country (SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES, 12 Jun 83)	80
Taiwan Businessmen Affected by Apartheid (Ivor Wilkins; SUNDAY TIMES, 12 Jun 83)	81
Committee of Ten Chairman Scores Election 'Sham' (Charmain Naidoo; SUNDAY TIMES, 12 Jun 83)	82
Details on People of Azania Manifesto Given (Sam Mabe; SOWETAN, 17 Jun 83)	83
Duncan Village To Be 'Disestablished' (THE CITIZEN, 24 Jun 83)	84
Afrikaners Engaged in 'Ideological War' (Johann Potgieter; EVENING POST, 13 Jun 83)	85
Increase in Immigrants Reported (EVENING POST, 14 Jun 83)	86
Armcor Faces Hurdles in Export Drive (Willem Steenkamp; THE CAPE TIMES, 18 Jun 83)	87
National Forum Seen as First Step Towards Unity (Patrick Laurence; RAND DAILY MAIL, 14 Jun 83)	88

Columnist Reports Recent Labor Activities (Steven Friedman; RAND DAILY MAIL, 13 Jun 83)	90
Survey Shows Asbestos Prospects Bullish (THE STAR, 10 Jun 83)	92
Treasury's Stock Issue Attracts Staggering Response (Trevor Walker; THE STAR, 11 Jun 83)	94
Weapons-Procurement Role of Armscor Discussed (Willem Steenkamp; THE CAPE TIMES, 15 Jun 83)	96
Blacks Excluded From Coordinating Council (THE CITIZEN, 24 Jun 83)	98
Black Unity Talks Reveal Gaps of Dissension (Jon Qwelane; THE STAR, 13 Jun 83)	99
Blacks' Local Affairs Role Remains Unsolved (Marilyn Cohen; THE CITIZEN, 9 Jun 83)	101
Indian Women Police Scheduled to Graduate (THE DAILY NEWS, 6 Jun 83)	102
Aggett Case Shows Official Probe Misled, Say Lawyers (Lynne Cornfield; THE STAR, 14 Jun 83)	103
Leading Afrikaner Columnist Views Constitutional System (Otto Krause; SUNDAY TIMES, 12 Jun 83)	104
Mineral Research Seen Vital for Upturn (RAND DAILY MAIL, 4 Jun 83)	106
Malan Defends Naval Swimming Pool Segregation (THE CAPE TIMES, 9 Jun 83)	107
Briefs	
Foreign Migrant Workers	108
NGKA Dissociates From Broederkring	108
Scientists Study South Atlantic	108
Cape Blacks To Be Resettled	109
Medunsa Boycott Ends	109
Blacks Reject Ottawa Decision	109
Sugar Mill Workers Laid Off	110
Resettlement Plan Hit	110
Saudi Ban on Pilgrims	110
Durban Dry Dock Repairs	111
New Container Service	111
Muslims Clash	111
Indians in Johannesburg	112
White-Collar Crime	112
Black Local Authorities	113
Local Police System	113

SWAZILAND

Major Coal Strike in Lubhuka Reported (Mandla Magagula; THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND, 30 Jun 83)	114
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

TOGO

Togo President of Sixteen Years Profiled (Etienne Ugeux; LE SOIR, 24 Jun 83)	116
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

UPPER VOLTA

Upper Volta Regime Profiled (AFRICA NOW, Jun 83)	118
-----------------------------------------------------------	-----

ZIMBABWE

Dissident Activities in Matabeleland Reported (AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL, 25 May 83)	120
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

Briefs

Asian Employers Warned	122
Belgium Donates Trucks	122
New Romanian Ambassador	122
Agreement With Norway	122

STUDY ASSESSES COUNTRY'S POTENTIAL FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3437, 27 Jun 83 p 1527

[Text]

NOW is the time seriously to consider investing in Angola, which ten years ago was the third richest country in Black Africa and still has an enormous potential that the MPLA is carefully developing, within the confines of a budget grossly distorted by the military spending needed to defend the country against the unpleasant machinations of South Africa. Those who do not soon seek their place in the Angolan economy could find themselves far down the queue when Angola starts the controlled boom that undoubtedly lies ahead.

That, roughly, was the burden of the message delivered at the recent London Chamber of Commerce and Industry conference on "Doing Business in Angola".

Angola was given a good report by representatives of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Department of Trade and Industry and the Export Credits Guarantee Department who spoke at the conference; though they tempered their enthusiasm with warnings that there are undoubted hurdles to be overcome. There were also expressions of disappointment that British businessmen have so far seemed slow to grasp the opportunities already available to them.

The economy is run on fairly tightly controlled lines — the Government is, after all, avowedly Marxist — not, however, for doctrinaire reasons so much as to prevent over-heating and building up a big debt burden. Virtually every project in the country has to be approved by the Council of Ministers and monitored by the

National Bank of Angola (and relevant Ministries): the high calibre of senior officials in Angola was praised by both the men from Whitehall and a commercial banker who addressed the LCCI conference, though they pointed out that, as there is a dearth of trained middle-management and technical manpower, things do not always move as fast as might be hoped. Controls in Angola are meant more to ensure economic viability than to promote a political dogma. Once a project has been approved it is allowed to go ahead — so long as it is productive — with a considerable latitude of operation.

Angola has a lot of development to carry out, not least in training and infrastructure, so there is a big market for investors who have the right goods or services to offer on the right terms, but it is not going to be easy to win contracts. To go to Angola, which is essential both to see what is wanted and to conduct the high-level negotiations which are needed, a visitor must find a sponsor in the country to invite him. He must then be patient in negotiation and observe due form. And remember that it is necessary, as well as simple good manners, to speak and write Portuguese.

The population of Luanda, the capital, has quadrupled since independence in 1975 so that it is difficult to find accommodation or office space and, because of the effects of the civil war and the continuing hit-and-run raids by UNITA (which is backed by South Africa), much of the infrastructure and distribution system are irregu-

lar, including food supplies and internal communications. Incidentally, the cost of military policing against UNITA is higher than the cost of trying to combat the direct South African interference in the Cunene province bordering Namibia. It is believed that once the South Africans leave Namibia UNITA will become a very much less important (negative) factor in the economy and much of the present defence bill will switch to development (the Cuban military presence will also then leave Angola). The prospects for Angola and its trading partners are bright: now is the time to seek to share in them by offering foresighted investment.

CSO: 3400/1598

COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC POTENTIAL, FOREIGN TRADE EXAMINED

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3437, 13 Jun 83 pp 1395-1401

[Article by Colm Foy]

[Text] PORTUGAL HELD ON to Angola for so long and so tenaciously, not simply for reasons of national pride but because this vast country, 1¼ times the size of Nigeria, is potentially immensely wealthy. Were it not for the continuing war waged against Angola by South Africa, its reserves of oil, diamonds, coffee, phosphates and other valuable minerals would have assured Angola a better economic start to independence than virtually any other newly-independent country in Africa. Even with the war, the Angolan government's financial position remains strong and there is a growing business interest from overseas.

This is even true of the United States, whose government has so far refused to recognise the Marxist-Leninist government of Luanda on the grounds that Cuban troops remain in Angola. US business, however, takes a very different view and in the oilfields off the northern coasts, American interests have the largest foreign share. Texaco, the largest foreign investor in Angola, has been instrumental over the years in trying to convince Washington's policy makers to change their policy, recognise the new situation in Angola, and, instead of shunning Luanda, encourage US firms to trade with the country.

Investment potential is indeed high. Angola has the needs and the resources to allow foreign involvement in its economy without becoming enslaved by it. Its business record is good, particularly in terms of paying its bills in full and on time and in honouring commercial contracts. The Angolan government itself is also keen to make up for the shortfall in expertise which has afflicted many enterprises, both state

and private. There have, of course, been hiccups, most notably at the National Bank of Angola, which issues registration documents to foreign firms operating in the country and handles all foreign exchange.

In December last year, in an attempt to streamline operations, the Bank's Governor was replaced by Augusto Texeira Matos, who also holds the post of Finance Minister. Matos himself has been involved in financial matters ever since the beginning of the armed struggle and has brought to the job wide and long experience of international trade and banking. Although it has been government policy for some time to try not to have one person doing two important jobs, the change does make sense, at least in the short term, and will at least reduce some of the bureaucracy.

Angola's thrust for foreign trade has been continuing and intensifying over the past year, with several business trips being made by the Minister of Planning, Loro do Nascimento, to both Western and Eastern-bloc countries. Brazil is an important trade partner and Angola is now Brazil's third largest customer in Africa, after Nigeria and Algeria. In 1981 Angola bought over \$106.9m worth of goods from Brazil, mainly food, vehicles, pharmaceuticals and industrial supplies. In return, Angola sold Brazil \$155.9m worth, mainly oil.

Recently, due to the fall in oil prices, this lead of exports over imports in the Brazilian trade has fallen and in April, Brazil extended a \$410m credit line to Angola to buy Brazilian goods. Relations between the two countries are on a sound, cordial basis and all the indications are that ties will continue to grow. Brazilian companies

are also benefiting from the good relations by extending their operations in Angola, particularly in the field of services. Companies such as Projex, Varig, Braspetro and Pão de Açúcar are already involved in oil research, transport and food manufacture and distribution, while a further Brazilian firm, Sisal, has recently completed renovation of the large Hotel Presidente in central Luanda and is expected to start work on other such projects fairly soon.

France also has close trading relations with Angola, mostly exporting food but also motor vehicles and chemicals, to a value in 1982 of over 700m. FF. The Angolans' exports to France in the same year amounted to 90m. FF, mostly made up of oil but also including some 8m. FF worth of coffee. At the end of 1982, France offered Angola a 300m. FF credit line.

Trade with other Western European countries has not been so heavy, partly due to the refusal of Angola to accept the status of West Berlin as part of the European Economic Community and causing the Federal Republic of Germany, until recently, to block access for Angola to funds which should have been available under the Lomé Convention.

In October, however, Angola announced that it was prepared to modify its position and will now be attending the 1983 Lomé negotiations to be held in September. Already this has opened up the possibility of Angola's receiving funds under Lomé and in January this year financing was obtained from the EEC to rehabilitate fish cold-stores, followed by another fisheries deal in March bringing the total to almost \$8m. Following the September meeting, ten times this much could eventually become available in EEC aid for Angola under Lomé indicating more trade with Western Europe.

Portugal has remained an important trading partner with Angola, despite some difficult relations immediately after independence. Currently, the volume of trade is clearly in Angola's favour, with exports over three times the volume of imports. Again, the commodities are mainly oil and coffee with some diamonds. Portuguese firms, however, have renewed their interest in Angola and two Portuguese companies, Atma and Ribeiro, are at present engaged in a project to rehabilitate the Nelito Soares textile complex in Luanda. This factory has been working well below capacity for some time and is desperately needed to boost local textile production and cut imports. The main problem is the

obsolescence of much of the machinery and the two companies will be installing new units and training the workers.

As far as the Eastern-bloc countries are concerned, trade has increased from nil at independence to around 19 per cent of the total today and it is the government's intention to increase this proportion by selling more to the socialist countries.

For example, Angolan coffee is very popular in the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union has just begun importing mineral water from Angola while oil, of course, will continue to be an important export to the socialist bloc. The contribution made to the Angolan economy, though, should not be underrated. Soviet and East German technicians are working on several projects in Angola and importing materials as well as expertise. One outstanding example of this is the building of the Capanda dam hydroelectric scheme on the river Kwanza, which is being undertaken by the Soviet firm Technoexport, although the civil engineering is being done by a Brazilian firm, Norberto Odebrecht. East Germany, too, is supplying vehicles and training, primarily for agriculture, the all-important sector which the Angolan government must get moving.

In order to control and benefit from all these commercial ties, however, Angola needs to be able to exploit its own natural resources more extensively and more efficiently. The oil sector now seems to be working well in spite of South African sabotage, and continues to supply over 80 per cent of Angola's foreign exchange earnings. Other areas are not so lucky. The iron ore mines in the south of the country have been severely hampered in their operation by South African military activity in Kassinga and around the Namibe (formerly Moçamedes) railway, despite attempts to reactivate them with Austrian technical assistance. In the north of the country development of iron, manganese and phosphate mining has been slow due to colonial neglect and, again, lack of local expertise. Now, the phosphates at least are showing signs of promise following prospecting and research by the American firm Cofang, which was already operating in Angola in colonial times, and by a joint venture formed by Cofang and the Yugoslav company Energoprojekt.

Coffee is another area where much needs to be done to improve production and increase export earnings. The industry was based in colonial times on a combination of large colonial estates and migrant

labour, but today the old estate owners have gone and the population dislocation caused by the liberation war and subsequent South African aggression has deprived the industry of a large part of the workforce. In 1982 production was less than 35,000 tonnes compared with 36,000 tonnes in 1980 and higher figures during colonial times. Moreover, the coffee that was grown has been hard to market and much of it is still in warehouses, stranded by lack of vehicles, floods, war damage or inadequate marketing infrastructures.

Throughout the last two or three years there have been persistent rumours in the foreign press that serious political or ideological splits were occurring in the MPLA-Workers' Party leadership of Angola. So far, however, particularly in the commercial field, there is no evidence whatsoever to support the rumours. The pattern of trade has changed only slightly and continues to show a rough 20 per cent-80 per cent breakdown between Eastern and Western-bloc countries respectively. Theories that the regime was somehow moving to the right seem to have been without evidence, since the trend towards more trade with socialist countries has continued in the context of a higher level of trade as a whole. The new Governor of the Bank was not identified with any particular group within the Party, but was simply considered to be a better person for the job and this pattern has been followed in other sectors of the economy. Management and ministerial changes can be seen in the light of what is known as the General Offensive Against Corruption, which has been going on for over two years now and which is designed to uncover and correct inefficiency and corruption at all levels.

Trade with and investment in Angola are becoming more attractive as time goes on. Recent talks with South Africa on the Cape Verdian island of Sal at least contribute to a feeling of optimism that an end to the costly and disruptive war may at last be a possibility. A cessation of hostilities would allow Angola to begin to reconstruct parts of its economy, such as iron ore and livestock, which have been almost paralysed by the war. At the same time, Angola's steadfastness in its policies demonstrates, contrary to the White House view, that Angola can be relied upon to behave as predictably and consistently in business as it does in politics. For this reason, as Texaco and other American firms have stated so often, Angola is one of the best business partners in Africa.

Huambo Motorcycle Factory

ULYSSES is known to followers of Greek mythology as the other name of the man who sailed his ship around the world fighting sea-monsters and one-eyed giants. In Huambo, on the Central plateau of Angola, Ulysses is the name of the town's motorcycle factory and source for all the two-wheeled vehicles available in the town.

Set-up in partnership with the Japanese motorcycle firm Yamaha, the Ulysses factory assembles completed bikes from kits imported from Japan. They also manufacture pedal cycles from locally-produced materials and parts. The factory is unexpected in what one imagines as war-torn Huambo. The working areas are light and airy and the workforce seems happy, keeping production up to target levels despite occasional interruptions to the supply of parts caused by sabotage on the Benguela railway and congestion in Lobito docks.

The factory director is a woman and the presence of a female workforce is felt throughout the plant, from the crèche to the literacy class to the rhythmic singing which frequently issues forth from the working areas. People in Huambo seem to think a job at the Ulysses factory is a most desirable occupation and the plant is a matter for pride both for the workers and for the local people who point to it as a great success. Of course, Ulysses is outstanding just because it is such a success. All too many of Angola's industrial units are suffering from shortages of everything from workers to spare parts.

Perhaps the Greek conception of Ulysses and the Angolan one are not so dissimilar after all. The original Ulysses not only survived, but prospered under seemingly impossible circumstances — the modern one seems to be doing the same. C.F.

Oil Production Potential

ANGOLA's joining Nigeria, Libya, Algeria and Gabon as Africa's fifth member of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) may become a controversial issue as the country's oil production is expected to spurt up to a hefty 500,000 barrels a day (b/d) by the end of the decade.

Talk of including Angola in OPEC was mooted a few years back, but political

opposition from some of the conservative Arab oil producers in the Gulf succeeded in pigeon-holing the discreet feeler.

After years of stagnating production, Angola is at present engaged in an ambitious expansion programme involving the upgrading of offshore fields in Cabinda and the bringing on stream of new resources south of the Zaire river off the town of Soyo. Output in 1982 averaged about 140,000 b/d, but by the end of the year had attained 155,000 b/d and in 1983 is expected to reach 180,000-190,000 b/d. By 1985, in fact, Angola will have pulled away from the other small-to-medium producers in the Gulf of Guinea like Gabon, Congo-Brazzaville and Cameroon to move solidly into the second slot in the sub-Saharan oil league behind only Nigeria.

Oil accounts for over 90 per cent of Angola's export earnings and this dependence on "black gold" will be exacerbated in years to come. Oil revenues have kept Angola's parlous economy afloat since independence in the mid-1970s and enabled the government to purchase the arms needed to equip its armed forces engaged in fighting the South African-backed UNITA rebels and in defending the southern part of its territory against South African incursion from Namibia. /

Hydrocarbon earnings in 1982 were badly hit by the depressed state of the world oil market and this year lower prices could virtually annul the gains in production. The government has projected oil earnings for 1983 at over \$2bn. With an expected hard currency pinch, President Dos Santos (himself a Soviet-trained oil engineer) has clamped down an emergency austerity programme. Once, however, this difficult period is ridden out, Angola should find itself in the enviable position of being able to cash in on steadily rising oil production.

Although Angola is among the senior sub-Saharan oil producers, much of its territory remains to be explored or re-explored with modern techniques. In total, some 250,000 square kilometres can be considered potentially hydro-carbon productive. The land sedimentary area is in the neighbourhood of 43,000 square kilometres. Although there remains some scope for onshore discoveries, it is expected that the major oil and gas action will be taking place offshore.

There are four important coastal sedimentary basins; from north to south the Lower Congo basin, the Cuanza basin, the Benguela basin and the Moçamedes

basin. Angola's continental plateau, encompassing the offshore zone up to a depth of 200 metres (650ft), covers an area of approximately 46,000 square kilometres. In the continental slope area, involving deep water zones beyond 200 metres, there is about 160,000 square kilometres of possible hydro-carbon territory. For the moment, exploration has been concentrated in the shallower waters and in the northern third of the continental plateau.

Recently the *Oil and Gas Journal*, a specialised American publication, estimated that Angola's recoverable reserves were 1,200m. barrels. Oil industry sources say this figure is well below true potential, as the northern continental plateau has only been partially explored and practically no work has been carried out further south. The United States Geological Survey, a worldwide hydro-carbon study, estimated recoverable reserves at between 1,000 and 10,000m. barrels. In comparison, Nigeria's recoverable reserves are currently pegged at 20,000m. barrels.

Commercial Attractions

Angola has adopted a highly pragmatic approach to its oil industry, hoping to attract western groups into exploration ventures and have them drill as rapidly as possible the maximum number of wildcats (trial wells). A form of production sharing contract was devised which most companies found quite liberal. Priority was then accorded to furnishing a suitable working environment for offshore operators, their suppliers and contractors.

The result has been in addition to Gulf Oil in Cabinda and older onshore concessions, six signed agreements since the end of 1979 with foreign oil firms covering offshore blocks south of the Zaire river. In 1982, 58 wells were drilled in Angola, 24 for exploration purposes and the rest for appraisal work. This year, over 60 wells are planned, including at least 22 wildcats. Unless new exploration agreements are signed in coming months, drilling activity is expected to fall off in 1984 with 49 wells and around 40 the following year.

Although little information filters out, industry sources estimate that oil operations in Angola are highly lucrative for western oil groups. Some light was shed on this sensitive question when John McKinley, chief executive of Texaco, operator on offshore Block 2, told a business confer-

ence in 1981 that his firm's activities in Angola were among its most lucrative in the world with profits exceeding several dollars a barrel. In Nigeria, for example, the government recently raised oil company profit margins to \$2 per barrel.

Angola is willing to bend over backwards to develop its hydro-carbon resources. As part of a \$50m. loan package to finance gas and water injection in Gulf's Cabinda fields, the state oil company, *Sociedade Nacional de Combustiveis de Angola* (SONANGOL), promised a banking syndicate headed by Morgan Guaranty to place proceeds from oil sales in an escrow account from which the debtor banks were assured of collecting their payments. This must have been a bitter pill for the strongly nationalist Angolan leadership to swallow.

Cabinda has been the centre of the Angolan oil industry since the late 1950s, and presently it accounts for about 65 per cent of Angola's output. This percentage should rise even higher during the next few years as Gulf — in association with SONANGOL — is investing \$1,400m. to boost output from Cabinda fields alone to a minimum of 200,000 b/d by 1985.

One part of the development programme involves the installation of a gas injection system to boost the flow from such producing fields as Malongo, Kungulo, Kali and Kambala. Angolan oil fields are reported to have a low "primary recovery" factor and "enhanced recovery" techniques are essential to prolong their lives. The cost of one "enhanced recovery" system reinjection, is estimated at about \$200m. The installations have been operational since the end of 1982 and should enable an extra 10,000 b/d to be pumped out of the older fields.

The second facet of the scheme to expand Cabinda oil input entails the development of the giant Takula oil field. Initially reserves in place at Takula were pegged at 120m. barrels. But an ongoing drilling programme has already augmented this estimate to 150m. barrels, and oilmen reckon that this total could eventually climb as high as 350m. barrels. Located close to the border with Congo-Brazzaville, output from Takula started late last year. By the end of 1985, a total of 29 new wells will be drilled on the Takula structure. Combined with the older fields, Takula's production should enable the targeted 200,000 b/d from offshore Cabinda to be reached on schedule.

SONANGOL has been engaged in negotiations with Gulf about a new arrangement to replace the 1977 contract based on a 51-49 equity division in favour of Angola. Gulf officials claim present profit margins are insufficient to spur major new exploration expenditures. SONANGOL is particularly anxious that exploration should be extended to promising deeper zones of the permit and around the Kambala field. By the same token, onshore Cabinda offers a number of prospects.

The bulk of Angola's onshore production comes from the Congo basin, in the northern part of the country where Petrangol, an affiliate of Belgium's Petrofina, heads a consortium also encompassing Texaco and SONANGOL. Petrangol has embarked on a secondary recovery programme that will involve the drilling of some 40 wells to boost output and prolong the life of the producing fields like Quingula and N'Zombo-Pangala.

South of Luanda in the Kwanza basin, operated by Petrangol in partnership with SONANGOL, Angola's oldest oil fields produce around 5,000 b/d. A study has been commissioned for advanced recovery techniques in order to maintain output at the present level for as long as possible. SONANGOL wants new seismic surveys of the entire basin and there is the possibility that new exploration acreage will be soon put up for bid.

Outside Cabinda the only other offshore venture in production is Texaco's block 2. Three commercial oil fields were uncovered on this concession: Cuntala, brought on stream in 1980 and currently yielding less than 1,000 b/d because of pressure problems; Essungo, in operations since June 1981 and producing 14,000 b/d; and Etele which had to be abandoned because of disappointing results. Of the 11 wildcats drilled by Texaco in the last three years, three resulted in possibly commercial finds. Texaco must decide soon if it will develop Garoupa, Mavanga and Sulele.

Elf, for its part, has no qualms about developing its discoveries on block 3, where it is operator for a consortium consisting of Mobil, Agip of Italy and two Yugoslav firms, Naftagas and INA-Naftaplin. Elf has completed seven wildcats and chalked up an impressive five discoveries. (In the oil industry, one find for four wildcats is considered a good score.) Studies are almost completed for the bringing into production by the end of

1984 of Elf's first two fields, Pacassa and Palanca. It is estimated that between them, an extra 60,000 b/d can be added to Angolan output by 1985.

Initial analysis of data from the Impala and Punja drilling operations shows that these fields are also of commercial size, but Elf officials say additional work will have to be carried out before the precise potential is known. It is too early to know the commercial value of the fifth field, Bufalo. In private, however, Elf oilmen make no secret of the fact that 100,000 b/d from block 3 is a reasonable objective for 1986-87 and doubling this figure by 1990 is also within reach if the newer discoveries fulfil their first promise.

Block 4, thought to contain the continuation of structures discovered in Elf's block just to the north, will probably be explored by a consortium composed of Braspetro, the overseas exploration arm of the Brazilian state company, Petrobras, SONANGOL and Petrofina. Braspetro, already a minority partner on block 2, will initially operate the block and then turn it over to SONANGOL. The Brazilians will train Angolan personnel and transfer hyd-

ro-carbon technology so that SONANGOL for the first time can assume operatorship towards the end of the 1980s.

On block 6, off Luanda, the second French national group, *Compagnie Française du Pétrole* (CFP-Total) has drilled three dry holes and plans to spud a fourth one this spring. Cities Service, which holds block 9, off the town of Lobito, has so far drilled two unsuccessful wells and is currently spudding a third one. Agip, on promising block 1, only started its drilling programme at the beginning of the year.

Open acreage includes block 5, offshore north of Luanda, and block 7, south of the capital, which became vacant after the government decided not to ratify a production sharing agreement previously worked out with the International Energy Development Corporation (IEDC). The southernmost blocks 10 to 13, covering the continental plateau south from Lobito to the mouth of the Cunene river, probably won't be put up for bidding for security reasons until an internationally acceptable solution to the Namibian question has been put into motion.

CSO: 3400/1596

UNITA'S STRUCTURE, PROPAGANDA TACTICS REPORTED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 25 May 83 p 8

[Text]

This year Dr Jonas

Savimbi's UNITA is aiming to make advances in three areas:

1. Territorial. The key target is to maintain infiltration north of the Benguela railway, the east-west artery that cuts Angola geographically in half. In particular, UNITA units have been striving with some success to open up activity in Cuanza Sul province, south of Luanda, and around Malanje, due east of Luanda, in what was once considered solid Kimbundu/MPLA ground. In the south there has been no attempt to attack main government bases such as Menongue, but communications - for instance between Lubango and Mocimede - have been attacked. Last year, the government forces lost Gago Coutinho, the chief town in the Cazombo salient, but UNITA usually aims to neutralise rather than take over the towns it attacks. It is attacking targets on the Benguela railway with greater impunity than before. In February and April, western journalists watched as UNITA paralysed the small towns of Cangonga and Munhango (Savimbi's birthplace, halfway between Bie and Luena), both on the railway.
2. In political terms, the target is to extend UNITA's predominantly Ovimbundu composition so as to embrace more people from groups hitherto associated with the MPLA government. For some years the allegiance of the Chokwe (or Kioko) peoples of the east has been divided between MPLA and UNITA. UNITA is well represented among the southern Ganguela peoples and has surprisingly good links with Ovambo groups on the Angolan side of the border, despite the current enmity with SWAPO. The absolutely key test for UNITA, however, is whether it can penetrate politically into the Kimbundu, especially around Malanje, quite a few of whom - it may be noted - were implicated in the abortive MPLA internal coup of May 1977 led by Nito Alves. UNITA claims that many Kimbundu, Songo and Seles are joining, though they are as yet poorly represented at the top of the movement, just as the Ovimbundu (at 35-40% much the largest Angolan group) are thinly represented in the MPLA's upper echelon.

3. UNITA has raised the propaganda stakes:

- a. It is taking more western journalists on trips into central Angola, and has angered the Luanda government by enabling British and French crews to make films of sabotage and battles along the railway.
- b. It is trying to make capital out of attacks involving foreigners. For instance, the attack on Tari Camp, in Cuanza Sul, which allegedly contained 300 political pensioners, led to the release of one Brazilian and eight Portuguese inmates who were marched through Angola to UNITA bases in the south. The result of the attack on Alto Catumbela, where 64 Czechs, 20 Portuguese and one Cuban were kidnapped north-east of Lobito, is harder to predict. Split into six groups, we understand they have all reached bases in the south, after walking hundreds of miles through central and south Angola. UNITA denies reports in *The Observer* in London via Zambia, that some Czech children have died en route. We hear that talks through intermediaries to exchange a Czech woman doctor for Philippe Angoyard, a French doctor

helping Afghan guerrillas but caught by the Soviets, may be succeeding. That would be a notable propaganda scoop for UNITA. Demands for the release of British mercenaries in Luanda do less for the image.

Logistically, UNITA is in good shape. The key aim is to create enough self-sufficiency in terms of supplies, stockpiles and caches, spare parts and technical knowhow in order to survive for some years should the South Africans pull the plug in the event of an international deal over Namibia. UNITA is well equipped with both Soviet and South African-assembled lorries for use up to 200 miles north of the Namibian border. UNITA units are all equipped with *Rapa* radios and good network of communication: The wives of western journalists were able to receive messages from the Benguela railway within a day of transmission. A UNITA radio station, based presumably in Namibia, is now broadcasting the "Voice of the Black Cockerel" throughout Angola. Standard UNITA weaponry is the AK47 and 81mm mortar, but UNITA has also acquired B10 75mm cannon, RPG-7s and, most importantly, SAM-7s. Considerable Bulgarian and Czech weaponry has been acquired, largely through Lebanese arms dealers.

UNITA forces are divided into three:

1. Regular battalions of approx. 500-600 men each. Claimed total: 15,000.
2. Militia, mostly armed with AK47s: Total claimed: 20,000.
3. Special commando units of 45 men each, highly trained (in Namibia?) in sabotage and sophisticated insurgency techniques. They have led attacks on the railway witnessed by western journalists. There have been suggestions that French instructors have assisted training in Morocco, where Savimbi has a safe house courtesy of King Hassan.

Diplomatically, UNITA is holding ground. Relations with Senegal, chief purveyor of passports, are less cosy under Abdou Diouf, but Morocco, Tunisia and Zaire remain firm backers. Saudi money and a Zambian blind eye to activity along Angola's eastern border are also important. The Nigerians are quietly pragmatic, with UNITA foreign affairs secretary, Jeremias Chitunda, paying a discreet visit to Lagos in April.

UNITA's military command structure is solid. Under Savimbi comes Brig. Demosthenes Chilingutula as chief of staff. Secretary-general Miguel N'Zau Puna also holds the rank of brigadier, along with Samuel Epalanga, who coordinates relations and supplies with South Africa.

Other key military figures are: Col. Bok Sapalalo (chief of logistics), Col. Renato Mateus (chief of operations), Col. Geraldo Nunda (senior commissar), Col. Antonio Vakulakuta (administration) and Col. Sam Chiwale (chief of training).

Since the UNITA congress of 1982, a 14-man political bureau has emerged with a ranking order.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Savimbi | 10. Carlos Kandaunda (representative in West Germany). |
| 2. Puna (hereditary chief of Cabinda) | 11. Antonio Dembo (chief link with Zaire; UNITA's senior Kimbundu). |
| 3. Chilingutula | 12. Col. Smart Chatta (secretary for justice; UNITA's senior Chokwe). |
| 4. Epalanga | 13. Eugenio Ngolo (central committee secretary). |
| 5. Nunda | 14. Tito Chingunji (roving envoy often in London). |
| 6. Vakulakuta (UNITA's senior Ovambo) | |
| 7. Chitunda | |
| 8. Mateus | |
| 9. Ernesto Mulato (secretary for economic affairs; UNITA's senior Kongo). | |

Notable absentees are: demoted army commander Chiwale, former foreign secretary Jorge Sangumba, former London representative Tony Fernandes, and information secretary Jorge Valentim.

BRIEFS

TAAG ACQUIRES NEW PLANE--TAAG Angola Airlines has taken delivery of a Fokker (Holland) F27 Mk500 Friendship. This brings to six the total number of F27s ordered by TAAG since the early sixties. The newly delivered Mk500 is the first stretched version of the F27 in TAAG's fleet, which serves the domestic route network in Angola. The new twin-turboprop aircraft has accommodation for 50 passengers, but the interior can also be converted for mixed passenger/cargo transport. A large cargo door facilitates quick loading and unloading of freight. A total of 749 Fokker F27s has now been sold to 160 operators in 61 countries. [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE in English No 33, May 83 p 24]

CUBAN STUDY OF ANGOLAN SALT--A meeting was held recently in Luanda at which a new project for the development of salt production in Angola was presented. As well as representatives of the Cuban company which carried out the feasibility study, three ministers were present. According to a Cuban expert, there are three areas of Angola which provide the most favourable conditions for salt production--Zaire Province, the areas south of Porto Amboim and Namibe Province, in an area extending as far as Porto Alexandre. After pointing out that Angola's southern seacoast offered better possibilities for salt production than the north, owing to a number of factors related to climatic conditions and soil fertility, he said that studies in Cabinda Province had proved fruitless because it was a very humid region with unsuitable geographical conditions. He further stated that very rudimentary production processes are used in most of our country's salt pans, methods no longer used by most producer countries, and that this resulted in low production figures. [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3437, 13 Jun 83 p 1414]

NEW AMBASSADORS--President dos Santos recently received the letters of credence of four new Ambassadors: Anatole Kondho (Congo), Nabil Salamy (Egypt) Jean-Marie Kacou Gervais (Ivory Coast) and Marin Iliescu (Romania). [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3437, 27 Jun 83 p 1527]

OIL SALE--Angola may sell Spain more of its crude oil following a visit to Madrid by Paulo Jorge, the Foreign Minister. [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3437, 27 Jun 83 p 1527]

ECONOMIC PROSPECTS SURVEY--A Swiss business consultancy, Alpha Omega Ltd. of Geneva, has recently completed a 200 page general survey of non-oil business and economic prospects in Angola, including 66 pages of statistics. [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3437, 27 Jun 83 p 1527]

CABINDA FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUREAU OPENS--A foreign exchange bureau, to exchange kwanzas for francs and vice versa, will be opened in Matadi Commune, Cabinda Province, on (?23) July and will enable the people of Cabinda and the neighboring regions of Zaire and the Congo to acquire goods in both areas. Cabinda provincial authorities have regarded the opening of such a bureau as part of the solution to the problem of supplying essential commodities to the population. Local authorities and a party and government delegation led by Planning Minister Lopo do Nascimento, which visited Cabinda recently agreed to open the bureau. During the visit, Andre Pitra Petroff, secretary for production of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee, who was part of the delegation, said on the occasion that the establishment of the bureau was of great importance for the maintenance of the national currency equilibrium since it will supply the Matadi market, which has been subject to great exchange unbalance. [Text] [MB050610 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 4 Jul 83]

CSO: 3442/276

INFLATION RANGES BETWEEN 35, 40 PERCENT 1981-1983

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 17 Jun 83 p 12

[Text] Praia--According to the unofficial figures, inflation in Cape Verde from 1981 to 1983 ranged between 35 and 40 percent, said an official source on Wednesday. Official figures place the country's inflation between 12 and 75 percent. Official explanation for the unofficial figures was given as "seasonal inflation," which the sources contacted by ANOP state "are not of permanent nature."

"If the rainy season is favorable," said official Praia sources "the products which this year rose sometimes as high as by 100 percent, will decrease during certain periods reaching a relative increase of 10 percent."

According to official figures consulted by ANOP, between 1981 and 1982 outlays for food and other products connected with it (petroleum and gas) rose 16 percent, while from 1980 to 1981 they rose 13 percent.

The same figures indicate that expenses for housing suffered a total increase of a little over 17 percent.

The largest price increase during that period was 33 percent for tubers, roots and vegetables (average annual prices).

Petroleum (used as fuel for cooking) increased 18 percent, gas was more expensive, 28.6 percent, while cooking oil rose 27.3 percent and cereals 15 percent.

First quality rice increased 22.6 percent during that period.

The figures, based only on the price evolution on the market in the City of Praia and imported products, indicate that cement was another of the products whose price increase was significant (20 percent).

Food Aid

In the meantime, food aid granted to Cape Verde in 1982 was increased by about 75 percent as compared with 1981.

Official sources stated that this increase was due especially to gifts of rice which, together with those of corn, represent between 80 and 85 percent of the total food aid granted to the country.

In absolute values, food aid to Cape Verde during these 2 years went from 295,500 Cape Verdian contos to 486,600 Cape Verdian contos.

Aid granted to Cape Verde in rice during 1982 represented 60.3 percent of the total of food aid and that of corn 16.9 percent.

The other food products are wheat, 15 percent; milk, 3.8 percent; and cooking oil, 2.5 percent.

11634

CSO: 3442/265

STATE LAUNCHES AGRARIAN REFORM; PURCHASE OF TUNA BOATS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 16 Jun 83 p 12

[Text] Praia—A total of 246 titles for usable land were distributed among Cape Verdian peasants in line with the basic agrarian reform law, official sources in Praia told ANOP yesterday. They pointed out that the distributed land was the property of the State and that so far no expropriations of any kind were made within the framework of the same law. Eighty six of these titles concern lands belonging to the Council of Santa Catarina (island of Santiago) and cover an area of 591.6 hectares.

On the island of Santiago the following were distributed: Council of Tarrafal (39 titles) and of Santa Cruz (49 titles), 42 in a total area of 425.5 hectares. On the island of Santo Antao--the second largest in the country--53 property titles were distributed covering an area of 603.8 hectares. Some 45 hectares of irrigated land were divided into 18 property titles for usable land on the island of S. Nicolau to peasants of that island.

According to sources contacted by ANOP, since January of this year, the state purchased 10 private plots covering a total area of 417 hectares.

The purchase of these plots was made following the proposal of the respective owners, said the sources.

On the other hand, the so-called absent owners who, generally, reside outside of the country, are to be contacted regarding the sale of their properties. The same is true of the owners who are not directly working their land.

Development of Tuna Fishing

Cape Verde is going to purchase 12 tuna boats during the first quarter of 1984 for the amount of 300 million Cape Verdian escudos, according to official sources in Praia.

The new units of Cape Verdian fishing fleet are part of a project financed by Arab funds in support of African development. Eight of these boats, 14 meters long, have a medium capacity for catching 145 tons per year and the other 4, 18 meters long, can catch 225 tons per year.

Training of specialized personnel is included in this project and some of them are already taking courses in Spain and Iceland.

11634

CSO: 3442/265

GOUKOUNI REPORTEDLY CONTROLS ONE THIRD OF COUNTRY

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3438, 4 Jul 83 p 1541

[Article by Mark Doyle]

[Excerpts] GOUKHOUNI Weddeye has launched a successful attack on the northern garrison town of Faya Largeau, 800km. north of the capital. The former President's intention to "march on N'Djamena" was signalled almost as soon as he was chased from the capital just over a year ago, and was reaffirmed at the OAU Summit in Addis Ababa early last month. In May, Goukhouni took localities around Ounian-ga Kebir, 200km. north-east of Faya.

The attack on Faya started at 11 am local time on the morning of June 23. It came in two waves, launched via Elbeye, 50km. west, and Gôey, 15km. north-east of the garrison. First reports say Goukhouni had 4,000 men at his disposal against 3,500 Government troops defending the town. Reliable casualty figures have not been released, but on June 24, Goukhouni felt confident enough to send about 800 of his men south-east, heading for Abeché, the eastern town on the strategically important road to Sudan. A pincer move on N'Djamena from the east and the north, meeting just north of the capital at Moussouro and Massaguet, was the technique Habré used successfully in June 1982.

Goukhouni has won this decisive battle for the northern capital partly because his troops have been efficiently reorganised under southern leader General Djogo and partly because he had achieved some degree of political reconciliation with former GUNT factions. These factions include the late Ahmat Acyl's *Conseil Révolutionnaire et Démocratique* now led by Acheikh Ibn Oumar, and forces loyal to Colonel Kamougué. N'Djamena has conceded that

GUNT forces now "control" a third of the country.

In addition to the support of internal factions, Goukhouni has received logistic and diplomatic backing from Colonel Gaddafi. Practical help from Libya may have only amounted to cash, especially needed to pay for mercenaries. However, most reports indicate that the weaponry Goukhouni used against Faya (including "Stalin organs", Sam-7 anti-aircraft guns and air support) can only have come with the blessing of Colonel Gaddafi. The UN Secretary General nevertheless said last week there was no evidence of direct Libyan intervention.

Hissen Habré, although controlling the capital and therefore supplied by those countries such as France which officially recognise states and not governments, has not, after a year in power, achieved the "national reconciliation" that was his stated aim as President. This political failure, added to the fact that it is virtually impossible to defend every desert locality against attack — meant that sooner or later something had to snap.

In the event, it was the Borkou-Enedi-Tibesti (BET) capital of Faya Largeau which fell. This will be a psychological blow to Habré as much as a military defeat. As rebel leader of the *Forces Armées du Nord* (FAN), Habré considered Faya as the centre of his fief. He was born there in 1941.

Habré's forces have now retreated south to Salal and Moussouro, respectively 400 and 200km. from N'Djamena. There, they are awaiting Goukhouni's next move and hoping for defensive reinforcements from

"traditional allies". In the meantime, recruits have been drafted from N'Djamena, some from among prisoners recently released in the "total amnesty". Goukhouni's next move may be delayed by the fierce sandstorms which whip around the north, preventing effective air cover.

Habré's allies, led by President Mitterrand of France, had been joining in a chorus of complaint against "Libyan expansionism" for two days before the attack.

The US State Department with intelligence gathered via (it says) satellite pictures, warned that several columns were marching on Faya supported by the Libyan airforce "believed to be at a high level of combat readiness".

President Mitterrand, in Cameroon on a State visit, warned of foreign intervention in Chad and affirmed that France would "keep its promises" to its former colony. Those promises do not in theory stretch to direct intervention, though this would not be difficult as there is a French garrison in nearby Bouar, in the Central African Republic. French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson was a little more specific; "we will not act like the US in Nicaragua or Honduras". But Cheysson, too, said that if Gaddafi sent in his troops "France would not be indifferent".

French Aid Minister Christian Nucci, paid a four-hour visit to N'Djamena a few days after Faya fell, and apparently offered material assistance. This has now arrived, in the form of at least 34 tonnes of arms and ammunition and much-needed fuel. These supplies supplement small arms which France had been regularly sending to N'Djamena.

Hissen Habré, via, among others, a Radio Monte-Carlo journalist in N'Djamena, had been making desperate appeals for more military aid: "No one believed us when we said this would happen! . . . Our troops are well prepared, but they do not have weapons as sophisticated as those of the aggressor . . . What is more, the Libyan Air Force is threatening to support them."

The Chairman of the OAU, Ethiopian Haile Mariam Mengistu, has appealed for moderation from all the parties involved and warned outside powers against intervening. One former member of last year's OAU peace-keeping force, however, has been very active. Zaire's Foreign Minister, Kamanda Wa Kamanda, visited Cairo, Khartoum and N'Djamena in a pro-Habré shuffle.

President Mobutu himself, in Lubumbashi for a regional conference, launched an urgent appeal to the OAU Chairman to defend Habré's Government.

CSO: 3400/1583

CHIEF POLICE INSPECTOR IMPRISONED FOR CORRUPTION

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3438, 4 Jul 83 p 1542

[Article by Baboucarr Gaye]

[Text] THE GAMBIA'S Chief Inspector of Police, Abdoulie Joof has been sentenced to four years imprisonment with hard labour for stealing part of the money he recovered while investigating one of the Gambia's biggest robbery cases to date. "Lie Joof" (as he is popularly known) was standing trial with three of his junior officers with whom he was investigating the case. The three junior officers were however found not guilty and acquitted and discharged — one of them in mid-stream on a successful submission of no case to answer. They were jointly charged with stealing the sum of 50,286,000 francs CFA, being the difference between the money they declared as recovered from the robbery and the actual sum that was stolen.

In passing sentence on "Lie," the Nigerian-born Chief Justice of The Gambia, Justice E. Olayinka Ayoola said that much of the prosecution's case rested on the assumption that the robbers turned in all the money. But he said there were allegations that part of the money had been given to one Saloum Jeng before the recovery was made.

The events leading to Mr. Joof's trial and conviction began as far back as September 30, 1980 when Momodou Ceesay, an internationally known Gambian artist, with the aid of two recruits intercepted a shipment of 196,798,000 francs CFA that was being sent to Zurich by The Gambia Commercial and Development Bank. They went away with the money but Momodou was arrested the following day. He eventually admitted that he had committed the robbery but added that he did it only to expose the illegal exportation of foreign currency from the country. He said he had been tipped about

the illegal shipments of foreign currency a month before he decided to take action.

The police eventually recovered from him the sum of 146,512,000 francs CFA.

Momodou and his two accomplices were also tried by jury for the robbery but they were found not guilty. This trial was presided over by the then Chief Justice Sir Philip Bridges who in his summing up recommended that the difference between the money stolen and the money recovered be traced. It was on the basis of this recommendation that Joof and the other policemen involved in the recovery were charged with stealing the difference.

But quite apart from this, the case had other serious repercussions. During the trial of Momodou and his accomplices, there were allegations of torture and corruption made against the police. In his summing up in that case Sir Philip alluded to the allegations saying that "corruption bringeth rebellion". Soon after these utterances Sir Philip was to resign his post as Chief Justice and it was largely believed that his resignation was not unconnected with his pronouncements on this case. The Government then went ahead to abolish trials by jury because the Attorney General argued that it had led to a miscarriage of justice in that the self confessed robbers should never have been freed in the first place.

Added to this the government-instituted new laws to make it possible for the state to become an aggrieved party thereby enabling the state to have a right of appeal against judgements unfavourable to it. It was after all these that "Lie" Joof and the other policemen were brought to trial. Now that this case has been disposed of it is expected that this robbery after three years will now become a thing of the past.

SIB MURDER INVESTIGATION REPORT, FOLLOWUP REPORTED

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3435, 13 Jun 83 pp 1384, 1385

[Article by Nii K. Bentsi-Enchill]

[Text] THE SPECIAL Investigation Board (SIB) was set up by the government on July 15 last year to supervise the entire investigation of what its chairman, Mr. Justice Samuel Azu-Crabbe, has called the "most outrageous crime in the annals of this country". The crime was the kidnapping and subsequent murder on June 30 last year of three High Court judges: K. A. Agyepong, C. A. Koranteng-Addow, and F. P. Sarkodee; and Major S. K. Acquah (rtd.), former personnel manager of Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation. The SIB also had competence to investigate any other matters it felt were related.

According to its final report, the SIB did not think itself "bound to 'act judicially' in the sense that it is bound to hear evidence from both sides and to come to a judicial decision approximately in the same way that a Court must do. We are appointed solely to find the facts, establishing the kidnapping and murder of the four persons, as well as the circumstances, and to submit our findings to the Attorney-General for necessary action, as required by the provision of Section 3(1)(e) of PNDC Law 15."

The Board was set up in an atmosphere of general revulsion and condemnation of the murders. Although Flt-Lt. J. J. Rawlings led the government's expression of intention to find the culprits, it was nevertheless an article of faith in some quarters that there could only be an eventual cover-up because some or all of the PNDC was involved in the murders. More specifically, some people centred their allegations of complicity on the PNDC Special Adviser, Captain Kojo Tsikata, and Mr. Joshua

Amarthey Kwei, member of the PNDC. The SIB, therefore, had to work between two poles of opinion/assertion: namely, that it would work either on behalf of "guilty" members of government, or on behalf of opponents of the government. In order to establish an indisputable middle ground, the SIB had to produce a work of internal coherence. However, it is unlikely that it has succeeded.

The abiding controversy for some people comes from the "necessary action" taken by the Attorney-General and Secretary for Justice, Mr. G. E. Aikins. For in the rejection of the SIB recommendation that Captain Tsikata be prosecuted, some people find proof of the "cover-up operation". Others might equally find the orientation of the Board's work as proof of its intention to implicate Capt. Tsikata.

There is no controversy with regard to the SIB recommendation to prosecute Lance-Corporals S. K. Amedeka and M. Senyah, Mr. Johnny Dzandu and Mr. Tonny Tekpor for the kidnapping and murders. The problem began with the fifth person, Mr. J. A. Kwei, whose prosecution has also been accepted by the Attorney-General.

In its interim report (*West Africa*, January 17, 1983) the SIB named the above four people as "the killers" and described Mr. Kwei as "the hub around which the 'wheel of conspiracy' revolved". In making its adverse finding against Capt. Tsikata, the SIB relies on Mr. Kwei's allegations (contained principally in his November 23 statement) that the said Capt. Tsikata was the "architect" of the plot. The SIB relies on the confessions of the first four "killers"

to make its finding against Mr. Kwei. However, nowhere is it clear that Mr. Kwei ever made a confession about his own knowing role in advancing the conspiracy. Indeed, he constantly, although not consistently, put the knowing agency of the murders on the shoulders of Capt. Tsikata. Thus, the Board uses evidence corroborated between four people to recommend Mr. Kwei's prosecution, but uses the inconsistent and uncorroborated evidence of Mr. Kwei alone to implicate Capt. Tsikata.

Incidentally, the SIB also recommended the prosecution of Lance-Corporals Gomeleshio, Nsurowuo and Kwowu, as well as Sergeant Dlogla Akata-Pore. The Attorney-General rejected this recommendation on grounds of insufficient evidence. The most interesting feature with regard to Sgt. Akata-Pore is the SIB's reliance on evidence from L-Cpl. Amedeka implicating Sgt. Akata-Pore, while rejecting evidence from Mr. Kwei in defence of the latter.

According to the SIB, the "first overt act in furtherance of the common design" to abduct and kill the four victims was the acquisition of two Fiat Compagnola jeeps by Mr. Kwei and L-Cpls. Amedeka and Senyah. No evidence was heard or presented by the SIB to link Capt. Tsikata to this overt act. It established that Mr. Kwei parked one jeep in the compound of Mrs. Nana Rawlings, and in the company of L-Cpls. Amedeka and Senyah picked up the crucial vehicle from there late in the afternoon of June 30. The SIB did not settle the discrepancy in evidence as to whether Mr. Kwei collected the vehicle's keys from a guard in the compound, or directly from a table in the empty flat.

The SIB established that Mr. Kwei drove the two L-Cpls. around pointing out the victims' houses immediately prior to the above incident. A crucial finding of the SIB is that earlier still that day, between 2-3 pm. Capt. Tsikata drove Mr. Kwei around to point out those houses. In making this finding, the SIB rejected evidence presented by Mr. P. V. Obeng, and Mr. Augustus Tanoh in particular on Capt. Tsikata's presence in the castle at that material time. Curiously, the SIB had accepted Mr. Tanoh's evidence at the time, told Mr. Obeng he would be recalled if necessary, but in its final report rejected Mr. Tanoh's evidence as being "very suspect". From its own inference that Capt. Tsikata was therefore not in the castle, the

SIB concluded that he was in all probability doing what Mr. Kwei alleged: pointing out the homes of the victims.

In a crucial note containing murder instructions from Capt. Tsikata which Mr. Kwei said he innocently delivered to L-Cpl. Amedeka, there is a resultant incompatibility in the SIB's findings referred to earlier. For on one hand, Mr. Kwei was an innocent courier where it counted most; on the other, he actively conspired with the four "killers" (including making a false press statement about a highway taxing order to ensure empty roads after curfew on the night of June 30). Mr. Kwei's evidence, written and oral, on the note was inconsistent. He variously said the note "purported" to come from the Chief of Defence Staff, Brigadier Nunoo-Mensah, and then from Capt. Tsikata. He alleged that the note was in code, but even the SIB found it hard to see how Mr. Kwei perceived the coded nature of the note.

The recipient of the alleged note in any case denied its existence. At one stage in cross-examination, L-Cpl. Amedeka mentioned the effects of a nervous breakdown as the reason why he could remember nothing about the note. The SIB relied on this nervous breakdown/memory loss to conclude that the note did exist and was received (which leads to the incompatibility of Mr. Kwei's position mentioned above). It must be noted that this was the only case in which the SIB rejected any part of L-Cpl. Amedeka's evidence.

There are certain conclusions in the SIB report for which supporting evidence is either tenuous or absent. There are also faults of omission. For example, Brigadier J. Nunoo-Mensah, the former Chief of Defence Staff — towards whom the SIB showed reverence — testified that one of his motives for quitting the PNDC, as contained in his resignation letter, was the indication that certain important personalities might be implicated in the murders. "My reason for saying this was based on Amartey Kwei's confession statement in which he admitted complicity and also indicated that Captain Tsikata masterminded the operation. I had no evidence outside this," he explained. Brigadier Nunoo-Mensah's resignation letter was dated November 22. The "historic" confession statement of Amartey Kwei was taken on November 23. The SIB should have investigated this occult discrepancy.

It was noted that two SIB members — Mr. C. Quist (Bar Association) and

Reverend N. K. Dzobo (Christian Council and Catholic Secretariat) — represented organisations that had been demanding that the PNDC must hand over power; although nominated by the government, nobody could suggest that the SIB chairman, Azu-Crabbe, could favour the PNDC either. Some even felt that the PNDC had bent over backwards to placate some of its open enemies by placing in their hands an investigation which could be manipulated for maximum impact against certain top officials in particular, and the government in general.

The sober work of the Attorney-General must have disappointed some people. He dismissed as being "without merit" the Bar Association view that he was under obligation to prosecute all the SIB findings. On the evidence of the facts elicited by the SIB, Mr. Aikins found that five people warranted prosecution, and another five did not. In conclusion, he stressed his competence and unfailing duty to prosecute anybody so long as there was evidence to justify such a step.

CSO: 3400/1572

SUPPORT FOR RAWLINGS URGED

AB300847 Accra Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 30 Jun 83

[Text] A Nigerian weekly newspaper, the GUARDIAN, has urged Ghanaians to accept the present harsh economic measures in the 1983 budget as a necessary condition for the country's economic revival.

In an editorial headed "Rawlings Is Right," the GUARDIAN says there can be no miracle in the solution of Ghana's problems. These problems dictate that if the country truly seeks to recover, it must pass through a period of privation and suffering. Ghanaians must therefore be prepared to be patient and to cooperate in the payment of their dues. From this perspective, says the paper, Flight Lieutenant Rawlings is right and Ghanaians can wait for no better leader or friends, especially as none of the dissenting groups have come out with any serious viable alternatives to the economic recovery program or budget.

The GUARDIAN, which was commenting on the 19 June attempt by dissident soldiers to destabilize the revolution, noted that the attempt has so far been no serious challenge to the authority of Flight Lt Rawlings and the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council]. It said the incident was not totally unforeseen given the preceding open revolt of students and professional bodies. The GUARDIAN says the professional bodies and the students bodies have offered nothing as solutions to Ghana's problems. The main point in their call for a handover is just (?for) new faces.

The paper asks, When will these groups know that the challenge is an economic program and not just new faces? It says the danger exists but unless the critics face facts and support Flight Lt Rawlings the privileged class of Ghana will end up returning the country to the profit of the imperialists. It accused bourgeois and petit bourgeois elements prompted by privilege and luxury of spearheading mindless opposition to grab the ferocious lion--that is, Ghana's problem--where it should be grabbed, by its jaws. The GUARDIAN says Ghana's plight is unenviable but pointed out that a human price must be paid now rather than later, adding with the passage of time prices get heavier and the class of privilege and luxury propagated by false economy gets larger and the results harder to contain.

The GUARDIAN believes that Ghana is luckier than some countries whose day of awakening is still in the future. It advised the PNDC to be careful not to deviate from its primary purpose of reviving the economy. It concluded by saying, and I quote: The revolutionary spirit in Ghana must be resuscitated and kept burning hot.

CSO: 3400/1568

BRIEFS

FUEL SHORTAGE--The Ministry of Fuel and Power has assured the public that rumors currently circulating in the country that fuel is running out have no foundation. A statement issued from the ministry this evening noted that the rumors have caused panic as motorists tried to buy more than their normal requirement. It said further that as a routine measure, dictated from time to time by the stock position, the ministry, 2 months ago, temporarily reduced the weekly off-take from the Tema refinery to a level which, in normal circumstances, should be enough to meet the fuel requirements of the motoring public. [as heard] This action was taken pending the arrival of the liftings, to which vessels could not be positioned until last week. [as heard] According to the statement, 35,000 metric tons have already been delivered to the Tema refinery for processing and the ministry will shortly revert to normal drawings from the refinery. [Text] [AB052140 Accra Domestic Service in English 2000 GMT 5 Jul 83]

FUEL COUPONS--SALES of new fuel ration coupons begin throughout the country on Wednesday 22nd June, 1983 in succession to the current ones which expire next Friday 25th June, 1983. In Accra all categories of coupons will be sold at the Sports Stadium and the Kaneshie Sports Complex, except government vehicle coupons and the 5 X 2 private coupons, which will be sold at the Ministry of Fuel and Power. The MTU, TUC and Licensing Office will be additional venues for sale of commercial and diesel coupons and at Tema Community Centre, private, commercial and diesel coupons will be available for sale. In the regions, coupons will be sold at the various regional administration offices by Petroleum Inspectors. Coupons will now sell at ₵10.00 per booklet, except the "Special A" category which will be ₵15.00, per booklet, because of high printing costs. Sales will begin from 8.30 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. each working day. On Saturdays, coupons will be sold in Accra at the Sports Stadium and the Kaneshie Sports Complex only from 10 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. The same sales times will obtain in all the regional centres. The sales period end on 15th July, 1983, after which time no motorist will be issued with a ration coupon unless he is able to state in writing a convincing reason for his inability to buy a coupon during the sales period; a statement from the petroleum department of the Ministry of Fuel and Power said in Accra yesterday. [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 18 Jun 83 p 4]

REFINERY SHUT-DOWN--ALLOCATION of petrol to the public has been temporarily reduced as repair work continues on two of the three boilers at the Tema Refinery. The work is expected to be completed on Monday, June 20, a government statement released yesterday said. Diesel supplies are however not affected by the temporary measures. The release signed by the Secretary for Information, Miss Joyce Aryee, confirmed that arrangements have been concluded by the Fuel and Power Ministry for the supply of crude oil for the refinery to resume normal operations as soon as the repair work is completed. The statement explained that in spite of the temporary shut-down, the public is assured of sufficient stock of products to be supplied to the motoring public until the Tema Refinery resumes operation. [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 16 Jun 83 p 1]

CSO: 3400/1569

PARIS TALKS FAIL TO YIELD ECONOMIC COOPERATION ACCORDS

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3433, 30 May 83 p 1317

[Text]

No economic co-operation accords were signed between France and Guinea during the recent visit to Paris of an important ministerial delegation. The absence of agreements was explained by the French Co-operation Minister, Christian Nucci, by saying the meetings were essentially for "getting to know each other again". When it came to details, priority would be given to commercially profitable projects.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Abdoulaye Touré, was keen to find finance for the Konkouré dam project — Guinea would be happy to see just this project off the ground. But France was not so keen because, in the words of M. Nucci, it alone could not finance such a development.

To strengthen the Paris consultations it was decided to organise a visit to Guinea of French managers, which will follow a conference on Guinea on September 21-22 of the National Association of French Industrialists (CNPF).

On the occasion of the visit the Association of Families of Disappeared People in Guinea has issued a communique reminding both French and Guinean delegations that the economic *rapprochement* should not blind people to the fact that Conakry had still to account for many "disappeared" people.

The Association asked that, as a minimum, the Guinean Government should hold formal funeral services for those "executed without trials".

CSO: 3400/1599

KOREAN IMPORTS EXPECTED TO INCREASE

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 2 Jun 83 p 1

[Text]

Imports of manufactured Korean products to Liberia netted \$7m for the last trade year, 1982.

The out-going Director of the Korea Trade Center in Monrovia, Mr. In-Silk Kim, who disclosed this Tuesday, said the volume of trade between Korea and Liberia is expected to increase this year.

Speaking in an interview with our reporter, Mr. Kim said products imported last year included textiles, vehicles, kitchen ware, electronics and building materials.

He noted that the Korean Trade Center in Monrovia is an agency of the Korean Government, established in Liberia in 1978 to promote trade between the two countries.

Mr. Kim added that since the establishment of the Trade Center, economic cooperation between Liberia and Korea has been very encouraging.

He said a team of trade experts are due here this month to explore investment and trade opportunities in the country, ad-

ding that this would increase the trade volume in the country.

"This is part of the promotion of trade and the economic cooperation which exists between the two countries", Mr. Kim said.

He said both skilled and unskilled Liberians will be employed at establishments born of Korean trade initiatives.

Noting that the Liberian Government offers "open market investment" in the country, Mr. Kim said it should be continued in order to encourage more investment in the country.

Through investment, he added, the economic burden on the government, and unemployment will be reduced.

Commenting on possible Liberian exports to Korea, Mr. Kim named rubber and iron ore, but added that the long distance between the two countries due to their geographical location made it impossible for these products to be exported now.

However, he said, Liberia would gain economic recovery through investment and trade relationship between "our two countries"

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT REMINDED OF DUTIES

MB041918 Blantyre Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 4 Jul 83

[Station commentary]

[Text] Last week in an unprecedented polling on 29 and 30 June, Malawians throughout the country exercised one of their constitutional rights by electing their representatives to a new parliament. The large number of voters who turned up was, to say the least, a practical example of the Malawian democratic machinery at work, as eligible voters without fear or favor voted into the National Assembly people of their choice.

The fact that more than half of the old members lost their seats in the polls speaks volumes of the democratic way the elections were conducted. And only today, the newly-elected fresh members of parliament and those of the old guard who were lucky enough to survive the rigorous test of the people were sworn in at the parliament chambers in Zomba. While to the people who elected them the results of the elections which were announced on Saturday signified the end of activities leading to the parliamentary general elections, to the MP's, their swearing in today marks the beginning of a long march toward the goal for the fulfillment of the wishes of the people who voted for them.

This indicates it is appropriate here to remind the newcomers as well as the old timers in parliament what his excellency the life president said on 4 June when he presented certificates of candidature to prospective MP's. On that occasion the life president made it abundantly clear that for members of parliament to discharge their duties effectively they must strictly observe the four cornerstones of the party, namely unity, loyalty, obedience, and discipline. He also emphasized that he would not tolerate any legislator who looked down upon the people who voted for him, because he, the legislator, must always remember he is where he is because of the people who voted for him. In other words, the legislators are the servants of the people and not vice-versa. Members of parliament are there because of the people, but the people are not there because of the members of parliament.

This is very important indeed, because human nature being what it is, it is all too easy to forget one's beginnings and the purpose for which one was voted into parliament. If this were to happen, it would be very unfortunate

indeed, because such a person would have dismally failed to perform his duties with which he was entrusted and therefore would not be fit to represent the people who voted him in. As far as the four cornerstones of the party are concerned, their importance is self-explanatory, since without discipline and other complementary factors, no organization anywhere can function properly, least of all a body which handles matters of national importance. Therefore, the newly-elected MP's would be well advised to remember at all times to live by the principles of the party and to be respectful to ordinary people. They should also not forget that in whatever capacity they are appointed to serve, they serve at the pleasure of the life president, who is not only the symbol of but also the father and founder of the nation.

Last but not least, the members of parliament must remember that they are all the custodians of the constitution of the Republic of Malawi, which they are required to defend not by words but by deeds. With that, we sincerely wish the new and enlarged parliament successful deliberations in the next 5 years to the benefit of our beloved nation.

CSO: 3400/1560

INTERIOR MINISTER SEES OAU AS POLITICAL NECESSITY

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 26 May 83 p 4

[Article: "Twentieth Anniversary of the Organization of African Unity: OAU Is a Political Necessity and a Historic Reality; Speech by Lt Col Abdrahamane Maiga"]

[Text] Founded on 25 May 1963, the Organization of African Unity is now 20 years old!

Dear fellow citizens,

In a few hours we will be commemorating the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Organization of African Unity.

In this connection, as acting minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation and out of a respect for a tradition which is carefully observed in Mali, I am pleased to have the agreeable duty to commemorate once again the memorable date of 25 May 1963, which marked the beginning of one of the most glorious pages of African history.

Just 20 years ago the leaders of the African countries signed the charter of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa. They thereby ratified the ardent desire of the peoples of Africa to achieve their unity.

The organizers of this conference, to whom we extend once again our solemn recognition for the historic importance and significance of this highly political act, gave themselves as priority tasks the complete liquidation of colonialism through the use of every available means and the strengthening of Inter-African cooperation in order to provide for the economic development and social progress of the continent, in an atmosphere of peace and security.

These just and noble objectives of our Pan-African organization today reflect faithfully and with even greater intensity the profound and legitimate aspirations of our peoples, who have decided to strengthen their fraternal relations and to express their feelings of solidarity in concrete form within this privileged instrument, the OAU.

On this eve of Africa Day our thoughts turn toward our African martyrs, those intrepid fighters for the independence and freedom of Africa, whose illustrious memory we salute respectfully. Our thoughts also go to our brothers in Azania and Namibia, who are suffering from colonial oppression in their bodies and souls. Their only crime is to wish to live freely in the land of their ancestors.

Regarding the supporters of Apartheid, they continue to maintain a system of segregation in its most degrading forms, trampling on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, defying the international community with impunity, and increasing by this fact the risk of conflict and of general war.

The people of Mali and their leaders cannot stop denouncing and condemning vigorously the hateful system of Apartheid, which is recognized as a crime against humanity by peoples loving peace and justice. Also, we remain profoundly convinced that there can be no peace or stability in southern Africa as long as this system is not eliminated and replaced by a truly democratic structure.

Regarding Namibia, illegally occupied by the racist, minority regime in Pretoria, the numerous actions taken by the United Nations to bring independence to this territory, for which the organization has assumed responsibility, up to now have encountered intransigence, arrogance, and a warlike attitude from the Pretoria regime. This government, with the support of certain of its allies, has undertaken the systematic blocking of the application of Security Council Resolution 435 and has linked the independence of Namibia to factors totally extraneous to the problem.

At the same time Pretoria, encouraged by these same allies, is carrying out acts of bribery, vandalism, sabotage, and criminal and unjustifiable aggression against the independent states of the region, beginning with neighboring Angola and going as far as the distant Seychelles.

Today, more than ever, we affirm our strong support for SWAPO, the only, authentic representative of the Namibian people in their struggle for independence, and we demand the immediate application of Security Council Resolution 435, the only acceptable basis for a negotiated settlement of the Namibian conflict. Our feelings of solidarity also go out to the front line countries, which are victims of repeated aggressions by the South African racists.

In the common struggle which we are carrying on to complete the liberation of the continent, we must also overcome the subtle and malevolent maneuvers aimed at sowing discord among us. We must avoid confrontations among the African countries.

As usual, the detractors of Africa, the prophets of misfortune, have never stopped predicting the breakup of our organization. They have carried on campaigns aimed at dividing Africa.

Certainly, there are points of friction and disputes among the countries belonging to the OAU, but political maturity, this sharp sense of the responsibilities we bear, the will and desire of the African peoples to achieve unity--for us these are solid assets that make it possible to gain further control over our destiny and to find African solutions to the problems confronting us.

The Republic of Mali will spare no effort to achieve greater consolidation in the OAU. The interests of the African peoples, wisdom, and realism demand that we avoid at all cost allegedly ideological differences, as it is true that the OAU was specifically established to overcome such differences.

In any case the OAU is not only a political necessity but is also an historic reality which must remain above momentary differences. It is the ideal framework for fraternal meetings of the African countries. More than ever, it is an irreplaceable instrument in the struggle for the political and economic liberation of the African continent.

At a time when fratricidal struggles and serious internal divisions are creating here and there a climate of discord and insecurity, risking the achievements of our sovereign states, it is up to us to work together to develop a climate of peace, concord, and fraternal cooperation among the various member states.

In this context the OAU should continue to make every effort to find a peaceful, just, and lasting solution to the painful conflict in the Western Sahara region, which is a major concern for the whole continent. In this connection we reiterate our support for the pertinent resolutions of the OAU, and particularly for the decisions of the committee organizing a referendum, which will allow the people of the Western Sahara to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

Major efforts will still have to be made to bring the parties involved in the conflict to enter into useful conversations in order to reach a solution in conformity with the higher interests of the peoples of the region in achieving peace and stability.

The question of Chad is also a matter of concern to the African continent. We must do everything we can to help the Chadian people, in a spirit of national reconciliation, to undertake the search for a definitive political solution, guaranteeing the unity and stability of Chad.

Dear fellow citizens,

Beyond the crises which affect the African continent, we remain faithful to the fundamental objectives of the OAU, which place economic cooperation on the list of African priorities and which advocate a policy of real integration based on the complementary nature, the interdependence, and the feelings of solidarity felt by African states.

African regional and subregional groupings, some of which have been given as examples, should be consolidated so that, on the basis of the experience, we will be able to set down solid foundations for our harmonious development.

At the African level we are determined to go beyond simple cooperation. The Republic of Mali, as its constitution provides, has decided to abandon its sovereignty, partially or totally, to the benefit of African unity, that unity whose achievement is an historical imperative.

On this 20th anniversary of the OAU, we are firmly convinced that the African peoples, by continuing their united struggle, will be able to overcome all obstacles and difficulties standing in the way of their forward march; because beyond passing sensitivities and misunderstandings what is important is to achieve cohesion and unity in an Africa which is reconciled with itself.

Therefore, let us all work together to assure our peoples of a future of peace, prosperity, and progress!

Long live African unity!

5170

CSO: 3419/1025

MALI

BRIEFS

JAPANESE AID--Cooperation between Mali and Japan was once again illustrated at two ceremonies this morning in Bamako. The first ceremony was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation and the other was held at the (?Poingy) Hospital. The first ceremony concerned the signing of exchange notes relating to Japanese grant for the exploitation of underground water in the Gao area. The grant, which amounts to 1.9 billion Malian francs, will be used to acquire trucks and other materials necessary for drilling wells. The second ceremony was the handing over of medical and surgical materials worth about 1.2 billion Malian francs from the Japanese Government to the Government of Mali. [Excerpts] [AB302135 Bamako Domestic Service in French 2030 GMT 30 Jun 83 AB]

CSO: 3419/1044

POWER WILL BE OURS BY 1985, SAYS MNR

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 3 Jun 83 p 7

[Text] LONDON — President Samora Machel's decision last week to take personal charge of Mozambique's defence is cited by his enemies as further proof that his Marxist regime is tottering.

The Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR) is claiming that it will take power by the end of next year. This boast was made by MNR undercover representatives in an African capital.

As the MNR is the continent's most distrusted rebel movement, the men described as a black and a mulatto would talk only if their identities and whereabouts were kept secret.

They said that the movement, conscious of its image as a puppet of Pretoria, was about to appoint a spokesman in New York where it would play the anticommunist card.

"We want the removal from Mozambique of the Cubans who run the army's mechanised battalions," they said. "Also the Russians and the East Germans in charge of security."

These declared aims, and talk of turning Mozambique into a "multiparty democracy", may win over some congressmen but the State Department has already damned the MNR as being "almost certainly supported by South Africa".

The representatives went out of their way to condemn apartheid and played down military help from South Africa. But they agreed to having friendly relations with Malawi which maintains close diplomatic and economic links with Pretoria.

"We have agreed to leave open one railway line to Malawi so that we do not paralyse the country. Of course, we could blow up all the lines if we wished," they said.

By the Government's own admission, the MNR is operating in nine out of 10 Mozambique provinces. It has no intention of making any fraternal concessions to Zimbabwe which now has 1 500 troops guarding the repeatedly attacked pipeline and rail link from the port of Beira to Mutare (formerly Umtali).

"We will continue to destroy all facilities for Zimbabwe," the spokesmen said. "Inside Mozam-

bique we intend to make it impossible for Machel's regime to function."

The president of the MNR is Mr Afonso Dhlakama who was once a commander in the Frelimo liberation movement which fought a long guerilla war against Portuguese colonial rule. His deputy is Mr Fanuel Mahluza.

Recorded speeches by MNR leaders are beamed regularly into Mozambique by a radio station called "Voice of Free Africa", which is based in the Transvaal. In a New Year address, Mr Dhlakama claimed that many Mozambican intellectuals were coming out in support of his movement.

LOOSE RELATIONS

It seems that the MNR has only the loosest relations with its counterpart on the western side of Africa, the Unita guerilla movement of Angola, which is led by Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Although Dr Savimbi is also helped by South Africa he has the covert support of several West African countries and is often to be found in Senegal's capital, Dakar.

However, this is not the case with the MNR and the spokesmen did go as far as to admit that their movement had scarcely any friends in the entire continent.

MOZAMBIQUE

TRADE MINISTER ADDRESSES ENVOYS ON DROUGHT

MB290914 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 28 Jun 83

[Text] The Mozambique minister of internal trade, Aranda Da Silva, today said that countries of Southern Africa must fight the effects of the drought from a regional perspective. Mr Da Silva was speaking to a group of African diplomats in Maputo in the first of a series of meetings between the international community [words indistinct] on the drought situation in Mozambique. Mr Da Silva said that the regional weather forecast for the coming months shows that rainfall is not likely to improve, but as the situation worsens even countries like Zimbabwe, which have been able to help their neighbors with food aid, may have to turn to imports.

The minister spoke of the value of aid offered by other African countries, mentioning Algeria and Malawi, which have made contributions. He added that a problem has arisen because pledges made by most large-scale donors have still not arrived and are not expected until August. By the time this food is distributed, he said, the country is going to need more. He said that in January Mozambique was describing this as the worst drought in 50 years, but now things have worsened, and we have to say that it is the worst drought we have ever experienced in our history.

Countries in the Southern African region have already discussed food security through the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, but collaboration should be increased so that they can present themselves as a region within the international community, Mr Da Silva said. He reviewed the problems caused by the drought, saying that the cattle situation was very serious. The government had begun a cattle-buying program so that farmers would not lose everything. Even so, he said, people are reluctant to sell their animals because of the prestige value cattle have. In many of the major rivers of the south, he said, seawater is entering further and further upstream, and the seawater is making it impossible to irrigate. Grain, vegetables and cash crops like sugar are all affected, the minister said. The sugar crop is likely to be affected for the next 2 years at least, he said, because the salty water makes it impossible to do new planting.

On the question of distribution, the minister said that the government would not give away food or the means of production, but intended to sell them. With the exception of one or two districts, he said, people in Mozambique have money, and the profits to be made from selling food and other goods will be turned back into agricultural projects to stimulate food production.

CSO: 3400/1561

LESSONS TO BE DRAWN FROM CHADIAN EXAMPLE CITED

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 27 Jun 83 pp 1, 5

[Editorial by Harouna Niandou: "Chad: Hell Is Other Countries"]

[Text] With the taking of Faya-Largeau by the armed forces of the GUNT [Transitional National Union Government], with the support of outside military forces, the crisis in Chad has entered a new phase, one of the most violent in its recent history, a history which has largely revolved around a contest for power between two men--Goukouni Oueddei and Hissein Habre--who have only one thing in common: they are both Chadians.

Within only a few years after the honeymoon of independence, the country was hurled--both by foreign interference of the kind strongly condemned by the OAU [Organization of African Unity] in its charter and by a feverish power struggle among some of its own leaders--into a vicious circle of violence. The latter has brought with it ceaseless changes of government and leaders, much unnecessary loss of human life, a frantic exodus of peoples, and unending destruction of property and equipment.

The scenario in all its tragic dimensions is always the same: hell is other countries, the external meddlers. In 1980, Goukouni Oueddei, with external logistical support, succeeded in throwing out Hissein Habre and his men and made himself master of Ndjamena. It was only temporary, however, since in June 1982, after lengthy military preparations abroad, Hissein Habre--more confident than ever of the superiority of his army to Goukouni's troops--wrested the country out of his grip and forced the ex-president of the GUNT into exile. Now, after a period of relative calm which lasted no more than a year, Faya-Largeau has once again fallen into Goukouni Oueddei's hands, and the violence in Chad has resumed.

This repetition of history in Chad should remind every African--and more particularly every Nigerian, since we are so close to the field of operations--of the necessity for all Nigerians to stand united. It should make us realize that national cohesion is indispensable and that our own nation is a healthy one, despite our internal differences.

The example of Chad is clear proof of the necessity of resolving our own differences by ourselves, inside our own borders, no matter what disputes,

antagonisms or contradictions may arise in our midst. Otherwise, if we look to the outside for support, we would be opening up our country to external forces which would make of Niger--as they have made of Chad--a testing ground for their technologies, a field for the exercise of their powers, and an arena for the resolution of their conflicts.

What is happening in Chad cannot leave us indifferent. It is a neighboring state, and, more importantly, the crisis there will have far-ranging consequences. For the moment, two conclusions can be drawn from this tragedy.

1. Hatred and disputes between individuals in the same country inevitably drag that country into permanent instability. These disputes could be moderated if only each of the protagonists would refrain from accepting outside support.

In the specific case of Chad, the real patriots should band together to drive the common enemy out of Chadian territory. And if the country has friends--real friends--let them help Chad rebuild itself instead of tearing it to pieces.

2. There is a real danger that young nations like Niger may allow themselves to get involved in adventures in which the strings are being pulled by pretended friends from outside.

In Niger, we are peace-loving, and that is why the head of state has constantly sounded the theme of national unity and cohesion, and mutual tolerance among all Nigerians. So we should contemplate the case of Chad, and make our own country a prosperous and united country. National unity is a priceless thing.

9516

CSO: 3419/1040

KOUNTCHE DISAPPOINTED BY WORK OF DEVELOPMENT PARTNER

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 27 Jun 83 pp 1, 5

[Excerpt] General Seyni Kountche, president of the Supreme Military Council [SMC] and head of state, visited the Namarde Goungou hydro-agricultural improvement project on Saturday morning.

The Namarde Goungou project covers 230 hectares. It is being financed by the European Development Fund [EDF] at a funding level of Fr CFA 1 billion. Actual work on the project began in April 1982 and is scheduled to be completed this September. The first phase of the project (about 130 hectares) should have been turned over to peasant agricultural producers sometime in June to enable them to start this season. Unfortunately, there will be a delay, because the firm responsible for execution of the project has failed--once again--to honor its commitments. President Kountche, who was kept regularly informed of progress on the project, has in fact given instructions to the prime minister for the minister of rural development to take the matter up with the contractor responsible for carrying out the project.

Last Saturday the head of state made a personal visit to the site to get the facts first-hand. So, in the presence of the agent seconded by the EDF, the head of state and the prime minister, along with the rural development minister, heard the explanations given by a rural engineering official regarding technical progress on the project.

Several conclusions could be drawn from those explanations: first of all, the contractor's operational organization leaves something to be desired (it is poorly organized). Next, the firm picked out and appointed as project supervisor a public works functionary who had already been thrown out of the civil service for incompetence. (The incompetence of the individual in question has also been verified by a fact-finding mission sent by the head of state to Dosso department). The head of state also noted during his visit that the work was of poor quality. For example, the concrete used in the shop is not of recommended quality. Finally, if the project is to be completed on schedule, the firm in question must triple the human and material resources it is employing, and it must find a project supervisor worthy of the name.

In view of all this, and taking into account all of the goodwill which has been shown to Niger by the international community in helping it to achieve

food self-sufficiency; above all because the actual growers--Nigerian peasants --must be provided viable cropland, so the project does not become a permanent drain on the state's budget;--the president of the SMC and head of state has decided that as of today the contract with the firm in question, Entreprise Wazir, is simply cancelled, and will be awarded to some competent contractor. This is being done so that the Namarde Goungou project will be as much of a showpiece of our cooperation with the international community as the Koutoukale project.

It is appropriate to recall at this point that promotion of Nigerian enterprise does not mean the rewarding of irresponsible and incompetent performance. The same irresponsible behavior on the part of the Wazir firm had already been observed by President Seyni Kountche at Konni when he visited the Konni II project.

Three firms are sharing the Fr CFA 5.6 billion contract for the second phase of that project. These firms are SATOM [expansion unknown], Dragages, and Wazir.

During his visit, President Kountche not only observed the delays in execution of the project, but he also noted that Entreprise Wazir's part of the work was of poor quality.

The rural development minister is supposed to hold a meeting to make a decision on this matter. But one thing is already clear: the other two partners are not obliged to pay for the defaults of the third.

9516

CSO: 3419/1040

KADUNA POLITICAL SCENE EXAMINED

Kano SUNDAY TRIUMPH in English 12 Jun 83 pp 6-7

[Article by Ismaila Mohammed: "Kaduna: A Political Circus"]

[Text]

THERE is a way in which the political circus show in Kaduna State should be a matter of interest to every Nigerian. It has always been.

As the former regional headquarters of the defunct Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) Kaduna remains the bastion of KADUNA MAFIA — the microscopic

but unmistakably powerful northern elite group that controls the country's military, political and federal bureaucratic structures. Needless to mention that the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) which is northern-based and controlled, regards Kaduna state as its "natural" domain.

Secondly because of PRP's victory at the polls in

1979 and NPN's diabolical designs to break even, Kaduna as we all know had since been a centre of unparalleled political drama. The geo-political character of the state and the arrangement of political structures, namely, the grossly unequal demarcation of electoral constituencies between the old Katsina and Zaria pro-

vinces make for the third factor.

This structural inequality is, I think, significant in spite of the largely successful attempt by the PRP in the state to define issues along class lines. Politicians who have nothing to offer the electorate would continue to appeal to primordial loyalties and attachments.

When I asked Alhaji Abubakar Dan Musa, the speaker of the state's House of Assembly why his party ditched Southern Zaria (Kafanchan, Kachia, Kwoi, Kagoro, etc) in its choice of deputy governorship candidate, he replied that the NPN can't afford to lose Zaria votes this time again. "In 1979 we picked a Southern Zaria man who is a Christian as deputy, leaving Zaria out. But the Zaria people backed out and massively voted for their son, Balarabe Musa", he told me. But as one would ask, if the issues were so defined, why did the Zazzagawa in the state House of Assembly collude with the Katsinawa to remove "their son"?

So according to the calculations of NPN strategists the party can afford to ignore Southern Zaria on the premise that its Katsina and Zaria votes would more than make up for two-thirds of the local governments in the state.

But the question is: Can Kaita make it this second time around? Some of his opponents have admitted to me that Kaita has worked very hard since

1979 and that there is evidence that he has also learnt a few lessons.

Doubtless, he has many things working in his

favour. He has, to begin with, the support of the bulk of Katsina traditional rulership — the same group of feudal interests that im-

posed him on his party and the electorate in 1979. Given their tremendous influence, this group constitute the bedrock upon which Kaita's strength lies.

Secondly, among the rest of the runners (Musawa, Jumare and Rimi?), Kaita alone had the experience of having run for the office of

governor. Said an NPN-man who would not like to be identified: "The man now knows all the dirty tricks. It is difficult to imagine that they can play him out". The same party-man however told me that their surest bet

is "in the mess this PRP government has created". This, I think, is a credible charge except that the "mess", it must be pointed out, was more the handiwork of the NPN whose members in the state House of Assembly would not allow the government to implement its programmes.

But it is also true that while Balarabe Musa's long-term projects never really left the drawing board because in part he spent all his time fighting the assembly and turning out propaganda posters, his successor, Abba Musa Rimi neither pursued the projects nor the propaganda. In other words, Abba Musa Rimi did nothing.

The NPN, it also seems to me has between 1979 and now over hauled its structures in the state singling the party as the most organized. Though Balarabe Musa paid tremendous attention to party organisation, his departure saw the end of it all.

Then there is the fact that Kaita also used his PLO position to distribute patronage in order to win political friends and co-opt electoral opponents. Few would say the man has not succeeded in this respect.

Kaita's choice of Alhaji Nuhu Babajo as his running mate is equally a smart move. Babajo may prove a great asset to the candidate in spite, that is, of Babajo's problems with the traditional institutions in Zaria and the Bank of the North loan scandal hanging over his neck.

Now the other side of Kaita. A partyman told me in Katsina that the candidate has so many bad sides, alleging that Kaita's image conjures nightmares to a lot of people in the state.

"Kaita is terrorizing in his ways", the man told me. A man whose Machiavellian disposition has never been in question. Kaita is known and despised for his contempt for the Talakawa. An opposition party official who prayed not to be identified said, "Lawal Kaita treats the down-trodden with the kind of contempt nurses are generally known to treat peasant women".

But like in 1979, however, Kaita's main obstacle rests with some of his party-men who may be willing to pull him down for the second time. I have it on good authority that the Kaduna Mafia is not with Kaita — and this could be fatal.

Though Kaita has the formidable backing of the president and, unknown to many people, that of Alhaji Umaru Dikko, it is the Kaduna Mafia that controls the bulk of the state bureaucracy.

The Mafia could, if it so wishes, use the bureaucracy in spite of FEDECO to frustrate Kaita's ambitions.

Like I said, Kaita's enemies are strong and determined to bring him down. They are also not lacking in number.

As the count-down to the present politicking began, a powerful group emerged in the state House of Assembly to thwart Kaita's ambitions to re-contest.

That was when moves were made to impeach Speaker Abubakar Dan Musa because he was allegedly working for Kaita. While that particular move failed, it united the forces

against Kaita. So it shouldn't surprise anyone that Alhaji Sani Zangon Daura, Alhaji Haliru Kafur and Alhaji Dauda Mani, all very powerful men in their localities challenged Kaita during their party's levels I and II elections.

At another corner watching over the shoulders of the three men was Alhaji Ja Abdulkadir, Chairman, Nigeria Railway Corporation. It was as if the man Kaita was thoroughly detested.

My information is that these men may pitch their tent with the NPP in a kind of electoral arrangement being worked out. By the way, it should be remembered that Governor Abba Musa Rimi was, until he resigned to contest elections in 1979, an administrative officer in a company owned by Alhaji Sani Zangon Daura.

Also to add to the problems of Kaita, most of the NPN legislators in the state House of Assembly who lost their re-nomination bid now put the blame on Kaita. They may also wish to stab the man on the back.

Thus it should be clear why President Shehu Shagari said recently that the people of Kaduna state should vote Kaita not because of the man (Kaita) but because of the NPN.

And the UPN? What about Muhammed Jumare? It is doubtful if this fellow would put up an appreciable showing, because, notwithstanding his trade union background, Jumare remains politically unknown. He is also said to be a political flirt.

As for the PRP, ex-governor Balarabe Musa's re-entry into the party is supposed to boost Musa Musawa's chances against Kaita's. It should, because

the candidate indeed has the odds against him.

Many are of the opinion that Musawa is a colourless person. Many also think that he has not been successful in his attempt to carve out a political image necessary for followership. Musawa seems to lack even a primordial constituency so easy to create and sustain.

But the question remains: Will Balarabe Musa stick his neck for Musawa? Indications are that the ex-governor would not, even though it is also true that it was he (Balarabe Musa) who nominated Musawa's running mate. I would like to believe that ex-governor Balarabe Musa's main interest in re-joining the PRP is in his ambition to wrest control of the national leadership of the party.

An aide to the ex-governor confided in me that one of the conditions Balarabe gave for re-joining the PRP was that Musawa be ditched as gubernatorial candidate. "Balarabe is suspicious of the man," the aide said.

I think it is because of this that Balarabe Musa has not taken back with him to the PRP a lot of his supporters apart from the ideologues, namely, Dr. Yusuf Bala Usman and his intellectual clique.

There are also the few problems that the PRP is facing at the moment chiefly among which is that the party is in a state of despair. It is also broke. The party's other source of finance, allegedly the NPN, has similarly dried up. It should not be forgotten that the NPN failed in its attempt to hijack the PRP following the death of Malam.

Yet there is a danger in writing the PRP off, no matter how convenient it is to dismiss its flagbearer. The

programmes of the party still stand superior in addition to its populist image and appeal amongst the Talakawa.

But the political configuration in Kaduna State may in the final analysis benefit most of the NPP. Three-fourths of all pre-split PRP supporters had

been Imoudu's, leaving one-fourth to Malam. Half of this number (Malam's one-fourth) further went UPN due to a crisis arising from Musawa's nomination and the instigation of Muhammed Jumare, Sule Buba and Shu'aibu Bakori. Since Balarabe took away with him only a small intellectual

group back to the PRP, it can be concluded, safely that the bulk of Imoudu is now NPP.

Certainly, the gods are destined to be in favour of the NPP if the party eventually replaced Abba with a Zaria man.

Given this trend, what I think the political con-

figuration in Kaduna State suggests is this: It is difficult, if not impossible, to know who will win the gubernatorial election.

But I still think that Kaita has a bright chance because, like the legendary Rock and Roll star, Jimmy Page said in "Stairway To Heaven", a new day will dawn for those who stand long.

CSO: 3400/1573

NIGERIA

PROBABLE OUTCOME OF ELECTIONS DISCUSSED

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 7 Jun 83 p 7

[Article by Ejila A. Oyibi: "'83 Elections: The Probabilities"]

[Text] Nigerians went to the polls in 1979 with very high enthusiasm. This was so because the rule of law and democracy had been in chains for thirteen years while the military ruled. In thirteen years while the constitution remained suspended and only decrees reigned, Nigerians continued to hope and pray that civil rule be reintroduced.

In fact the yearnings for civil rule and democracy was so vehement that when Gowon's administration termed 1976 unrealistic for the return to civil rule, there were protests and demonstrations from many sectors of the Nigeria populace culminating in the overthrow of that government and its replacement by Murtala-Obasanjo regime, which true to its word handed the baton to a democratically elected government in October, 1979. [as published] Nigerians heaved a sigh of immense relief.

Votings in the 1979 elections were motivated by various factors. Strongest amongs these were tribal and sectional considerations. [as published] This is true from the results of the elections as especially in the presidential election where many candidates scored their highest number of votes in their tribal or home fronts.

In fact apart from President Shagari who got his greatest support from state termed "minority state", Chief Awolowo was undisputed winner in Yorubaland, Dr. Azikiwe in Igboland, Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim in his Kanuri areas of Borno and Gongola and the late Malam Aminu Kano in Kano.

Then people voted for their tribesmen as this did not only reduce their fears of domination by other tribes but it was considered safer to vote for a next of kin as his achievements or failures would be easier to comprehend and he was also believed to know that "blood was thicker than water".

Thus most of the parties except N.P.N. grew around and derived their greatest strength from certain tribes and individuals in such tribes. People voted for certain parties because their presidential candidates came from such and such a tribe. Thus it became difficult for instance to talk of U.P.N.

without seeing it as a predominantly Yoruba party. The N.P.P. also had this image of an Ibo party and the G.N.P.P. and P.R.P. were built around their mentors in Kano and Maiduguri.

Realities

However, a lot has occurred since 1979 and in appraising or forecasting the possibilities and probabilities of the 1983 general elections one must give serious consideration to the following realities on the arena of contemporary politics in Nigeria. The P.P.A. the unprecedented rate of cross-carpeting my partymen, the performance records of political parties and the various leaders; and the development of democracy. [as published]

The Progressive Parties Alliance seems to add some glamour to the Political scene. From the nine progressive governors meetings it grew to twelve progressive governors. At a time many Nigerians thought that the meetings of these progressives would lead into a merger and a two-party system would be evolved in Nigeria. This would have augured very well for the development of democracy in Nigeria.

But somehow due to the lack of ideological consensus and the ever-growing fear and distrust amongst the leaders of the alliance, its impact diminished gradually and today it is a foregone conclusion that the alliance is dead.

True the alliance is dead but it did leave certain marks worthy of mentioning. It provided a forum for exercising the dictates of true democracy. Certain errors were corrected due to the pressure of the progressives. [as published] The major irony of the progressive enterprise is that despite the clamour and call for a replacement of N.P.N. Federal Government, the leaders of the alliance had no unified programmes or plans for redeeming the masses. In fact it became very clear that all the progressives wanted was the presidency and not how the presidency could be used to benefit the electorate.

Decamping

There has been so much carpet crossing within the last ten months that one begins to wonder what exactly motivates Nigerians into politics. What does politics mean to our people. To some, it is a means to quick wealth and to others a way to making a name for themselves. It is on rare occasions that one sees people in politics to serve. Yes very few people are in politics today to serve their fellow Nigerians. The issue of ideological motivations may come into play here because certain self-professed socialists have recently cross-carpeted into parties with divergent ideological bases. For instance, what should motivate a P.R.P. man into declaring for either the N.P.P. or N.P.N., considering the fact that the later two are capitalist-oriented and the P.R.P. is considered the only purely socialist-oriented party in Nigeria. [as published]

Problems

The N.P.N. and U.P.N. had been at each others throat more than any other two parties since 1979. This is not surprising as the loss of the presidency by

Papa Awo has really angered U.P.N. right from the onset. However, it is a common thing to hear some N.P.N. men declare for U.P.N. today and many U.P.N. men declaring for the N.P.N. the following day. There has been so much carpet crossing that it is now difficult to assess many politicians based on either their utterances or pledges.

One very good thing about the results of the 1979 elections is that all the five political parties then won gubernatorial elections. The P.R.P. and the G.N.P.P. had two each, N.P.P. three, U.P.N. five and N.P.N. won both the federal and seven states elections. Thus Nigerians at least have an opportunity to compare the performances of the various parties by the way they ran the governments of states won by them.

The Nigerian Advance Party has a peculiar case and the electorate are not unaware of this. However we must remark here that states and local governments are created for the purpose of enhancing rural and even development of the country. Many states have undergone every little infrastructural change since 1979. In some states not many roads, water and rural health projects have been completed. The electorate have grudgingly been plying eroded and dangerous roads for the past almost four years.

In some states the situation is more pathetic. Apart from the lack of basic amenities such as roads and water, there has been reintroductions of school fees, levies and various kinds of taxes have surfaced in some states. [as published] Civil servants in some states have had to wait for more than three months at times to receive their salaries. This is in spite of prompt payment of states monetary allocations by the Federal Government. True there is a global economic depression at the moment and it affects everybody, but a government cannot avoid its very basic and important responsibility of paying employees' salaries.

Finally in voting Nigerians must have as a foremost consideration the enhancement and entrenchment of democracy in Nigeria. Nigerians must think of people that can tolerate and are disposed towards the practice of democracy. These considerations can be extracted from the manifestoes and programmes of the six political parties. It is now an accepted fact that the 1983 elections are very crucial and will to a very great extent make Nigeria the democracy we have been craving for. It is the responsibility of every Nigerian to see that this happens and peacefully too.

CSO: 3400/1573

SHAGARI VICTORY PRESAGES HARD TIMES, SAYS CORRESPONDENT

Kano SUNDAY TRIUMPH in English 12 Jun 83 p 1

[Article by Sonni Anyang: "Worse Period Ahead...If Shagari Wins Again"]

[Text]

NIGERIANS should expect more 'austerity measures' if Alhaji Shehu Shagari is returned to power as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in the forthcoming elections.

This is because the Shagari administration, which has already applied to the International Monetary Fund, (IMF) for a 2.5 billion-dollar loan, is likely to accept and implement the 'stabilisation package' which the fund typically imposes as a condition for granting loans to developing countries.

The Federal Government is however reluctant to conclude arrangement for the IMF loan before the forthcoming elections as the resulting popular disenchantment could lead to Shagari's defeat at the polls.

Nigeria has featured prominently in the foreign

and local press in recent times over the attempt by the Federal Government to negotiate, with foreign banks, for the re-financing of its outstanding arrears on Letters of Credit to the tune of 2 billion dollars.

Owing to the worldwide economic recession and difficulties in the world oil market, Nigeria has found it increasingly difficult to earn enough foreign exchange to pay for its imports. The consequence of this has been that exporters can no longer receive prompt payment for goods shipped to Nigeria.

The situation has deteriorated so far that the backlog of unpaid Letters of Credit issued to facilitate exports to Nigeria is believed, in international and local financial circles, to be as high as 5 billion dollars.

At the moment, Nigerian banks are so indebted to correspondent banks overseas that they no longer issue confirmed Letters of Credit, and exports to Nigeria have slowed to a trickle.

Recent reports reaching our economic desk also in-

dicate that Nigeria has been successful in negotiating with overseas banks to convert the arrears on Letters of Credit into short-term loans repayable over a three-year period.

But American bankers who participated in the debt re-scheduling talks and who view the Nigerian economic situation as 'very grave' are said to have insisted that Nigeria accept the IMF 'austerity package'. One American banker is quoted to have said: "Nigeria's finances have been so poorly managed that they can use the discipline the IMF can provide."

The Shagari administration appears, by its recent application to the IMF to have conceded this point to the foreign banks. However, as a banker who participated in the negotiations told a foreign newspaper: "The commercial bankers understand that the Nigerians couldn't put together a programme with the IMF until after the elections."

In another development, a London-based magazine, Africa Now has reported that the American Government which wants the NPN

returned to power, has allegedly instructed the IMF to ensure that its bail-out package for Nigeria does not unduly jeopardize the party's re-election chances.

The American Government under President Ronald Reagan which incidentally played a major role in destabilising the world oil market has further pledged food aid to Nigeria in the event of an IMF-triggered devaluation of the Naira.

Indeed, President Shehu Shagari has said, repeatedly, that his government will not devalue the Naira. But an IMF loan would require precisely such devaluation.

Devaluation, which is normally part of IMF economic rescue package, would lead to further increases in prices while the reduction in government expenditure which the fund typically recommends, will result in more unemployment since the Nigerian economy is overwhelmingly dependent on government expenditure for its growth impulses.

None of these consequences of an IMF loan would appeal to the Nigerian voters, hence the likelihood that the Shagari regime will

accept the loan only after the elections.

If this happens, as is most likely, Nigerians are bound to face another period of

hardship even worse than the attendant problems of current austerity measures.

Some political observers see this as a worrying key

election issue, to the NPN controlled Federal Government.

CSO: 3400/1573

MASS EXIT OF INCUMBENT LEGISLATORS WORRIES OGBE

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 13 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Omoghene Onojake]

[Text]

MINISTER of Communications, Mr. Audu Ogbé, has expressed concern over the large number of incumbent legislators in the country who have lost their seats during nominations.

He said that this development posed a great danger for the presidential democratic process and does not augur well for the quality of our legislation.

Addressing a press conference in Jos recently, Mr. Ogbé said the reasons why the legislators lost their seats as advanced by their electorates were "disquieting and frivolous" and will ruin the nation.

He said that about 70 per cent of those who were voted in 1979 have lost their seats and described such legislators as "victims of parliamentary prejudice."

Mr. Ogbé said if we were following the United States of America in our democratic process, "then presidential democracy has not started here."

He argued that it was wrong to expect legislators to dish out money, award contracts and

build bridges for the people when his hands are tied. He added that law makers face a lot of problems in canvassing for amenities, pointing out that some legislators had been branded confrontationists in this process.

The Minister however agreed that some legislators "campaign-ed on wrong premise" and make promises they cannot fulfil.

Mr. Ogbé who was the speaker of the Benue State House of Assembly before he was appointed a minister, asserted that many legislators in the country are idle and do nothing.

He said he therefore recommended that the days of sitting of all legislatures should be reduced by one third and legislators' salaries reduced.

This, he explained, would enable the law-makers go home, do their businesses and interact with their electorate.

Mr. Ogbé declared that the legislature has not performed its check on the executive, saying "it is a tolerated nuisance."

CSO: 3400/1573

GOVERNMENT ADVISED TO DEVELOP CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 13 Jun 83 p 32

[Article by Jackson Imafidon]

[Text]

NIGERIAN pharmaceutical and chemical industry has great potentials for rapid advancement provided the resources available are given the desired attention by the government.

Chief J.U. Mohr, the Vice-Chairman and Managing Director of Nigerian Hoechst Limited, Ikeja, expressed this view while briefing the Business Times over the prevailing conditions in the Nigerian chemical industry.

He admitted that there are shortages of certain active ingredients vital for the production of drugs and other related chemical products and said that these ingredients cannot be developed locally overnight. It takes a highly developed technology in the field of chemistry to manufacture active agents, he said.

Chief Mohr pointed out that about ninety per cent of the content of locally manufactured drugs are made up of imported raw materials. Raw materials for pharmaceutical production must be of an acceptable international

standards, a stage, which, Chief Mohr, explained can only be achieved after many years of expensive research projects.

However, packaging material for the pharmaceutical industry is provided locally, he disclosed.

On the present problems in the Nigerian pharmaceutical and chemical industry, Chief Mohr expressed the view that the foreign reserves position of the Central Bank of Nigeria must have compelled foreign suppliers of raw materials to insist on obtaining confirmed letters of credit before shipment.

Speaking for his company, Chief Mohr said that the Ministry of Commerce has granted Hoechst import licence for the importation of its required raw materials. He explained that those companies that applied for import licence early enough have had their applications granted and import licences issued.

Nigerian Hoechst, Chief Mohr said, supplies intermediate raw materials to textile manufacturing

companies which require dye stuff and textile auxiliaries. He said that textile companies are encountering raw materials problems, because Nigerian Hoechst cannot obtain sufficient import licences to import raw materials for textile industrial needs.

Chief Mohr explained that there is urgent need to establish a Petro Chemical Complex in Nigeria to satisfy the demands for chemical raw materials from the various business sectors. He said that his company together with UHDE of West Germany have shown strong interest in participating in the down stream projects which goes back to 1975.

He pointed out that the establishment of a cracker plant would make available essential petro chemical derivatives for use in the country's chemical and pharmaceutical industries. Until the petro chemical project takes off, the foreign dependence on essential by-products of petro chemical would persist.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON NORTHERN RELIGIOUS STRIFE

Verona NIGRIZIA in Italian No 5, May 83 pp 8-11

[Article by Raymond Hickey: "Backfire"]

[Text] The northern part of the country is periodically disturbed with disorders of a religious nature. What are the causes? In a report coming to us directly from Maiduguri, scene of last October's clashes, our correspondent furnishes us with clear, up-to-date and historical information, thus giving us a graphic picture of the phenomenon.

The tragic events of Maiduguri did not come as any surprise to those who are familiar with the complexity of the religious situation in northern Nigeria. The reasons for those violent explosions are found in the present integrative tendencies of northern Nigerian Islam, which, however, have their roots in the holy war (jihad) of Sheik Usman Dan Fodio of Sokoto at the beginning of the century, whose purpose was to purify and reform the area's Islamic states.

Fula Empire

The Fula empire, which extended throughout the northern area of Nigeria and Cameroon, maintained its supremacy and initial stimulus for almost a century, surviving thanks to the colonial system of "indirect government." When Nigeria became independent in October 1960, the powerful southern area was still to a large extent governed by Moslem emirs and their "local administration."

The "prime minister" of the area, until his assassination in 1966, was Ahmadu Bello, Sokoto's "sardauna," a devout Moslem who considered himself a descendent of Mohammed himself. As vice president of the Islamic World League, he tried to have his area enter the mainstream of Islam, becoming the promoter of the conversion crusade which was particularly aimed at the area's small "pagan" tribes during the last years of its existence.

The effect of the 1966 coup d'etat and the arrival in power of the military had a traumatic impact on the northern Nigerian leadership class. The area was divided into six states, political activity was suspended, local government was restructured and the power of the emirs was greatly reduced. Moreover, the

idea of a "Moslem north" was smashed to pieces inasmuch as, during this period, the head of state, Gen Yakubu Gowon, although a northerner, was also a devout Christian. It was inevitable that there would be a reaction on the part of the Islamic oligarchy.

Fundamentalist Movement

There was an early indication of this in 1978, when an attempt was made to launch a new constitution for the country, a task entrusted to the members of the constituent assembly in Lagos, which ended up in a bitter debate between Christians and Moslems. The crux of the problem was that of the place which Islamic law (sharia) would have had to occupy within the nation's judiciary system. At a certain point in the debate the Moslem delegates left the room, creating considerable tension between the two religious groups in the country. This constitutional impasse was resolved because the military were in power and were able to overcome it. The assembly ended up giving its approval and the new constitution became effective with the return of the civilian government, 1 October 1979.

However, the constitution was never accepted by the Islamic leaders of the north. They could not accept its "secular" nature; particularly, the article which states: "Every person has the right to freedom of... religion, including the right to change his religion or faith"; this was anathema to them. Extremist groups, like the Izala movement and the Society of Moslem Students, openly reject the constitution and work toward an Islamic state.

This period also saw the emergence of a coalition of Islamic fundamentalist forces whose activities were coordinated by the "Jama'atu Nasril Islam," a religious political group with good organization, founded in 1962. From that time on, the Islamic fundamentalist position has been very cleverly presented by Moslem leaders like Abubkar Gummi in the government-owned newspaper, NEW NIGERIAN, and over the waves of the powerful radio station in Kaduna.

However, within this coalition there is a profound difference of opinion between the conservative leadership represented by most of the emirs and the new and more fanatical groups who do not hesitate to use violence as a means of achieving a constitution compatible with an Islamic state. It is to this second group that Mohamed Maroua belonged.

Maitatsine

Known by the nickname of Maitatsine (Hausa word meaning "one who curses others"), Mohamed Maroua was the instigator of the terrible Kano rebellion which occurred in December 1980 and which resulted in his own death and in that of at least 5,000 of his followers. Only the decisive intervention of the army and the air force succeeded in putting down the insurrection. It was hoped that Maitatsine's death and the imprisonment of his followers would hasten the end of the new wave of violence by the Moslem fundamentalists. New regulations were introduced in the more sensitive areas to control public preaching through authorization granted to religious preachers.

The events which followed, particularly the Maiduguri rebellion last October, showed that the spiral of violence has not yet been brought under control. Strangely, the clashes in Maiduguri were caused by the police themselves who were supposed to be preventing them. Maitatsine's followers resisted the police officers who were carrying out a roundup of their leaders. The police reacted by isolating the suburb of Bulumkuttu where the fanatics had barricaded themselves, with the aid of reinforcements. This greatly limited the disorder which could have been multiplied manifold in this city of 300,000 inhabitants. When the conflict occurred, it was rapid but bloody: hundreds of fundamentalists were killed. A total of 16 policemen were slain, not 100 as the press had asserted. We are not dealing with an episode as serious as the one at Kano, but it bodes nothing good for the country's future.

Foreigners

It has been said that many of Maitatsine's followers came from neighboring countries and the Maitatsine himself came from Cameroon. It could thus be concluded that these disorders could not be considered symbolic of the religious fanaticism existing in Nigerian society. Perhaps this is a dangerous interpretation of the situation. We must first note that northern Cameroon belongs to the old Fula empire of which Maroua--where Maitatsine was born--was an important center. It is also known that Maitatsine spent at least 30 years in Kano where he was an influential and respected "malam" (teacher), attracting hundreds of disciples. These followers (many of whom were illegal immigrants) came largely from the impoverished class, the class exploited by the Moslem people and which did not at all benefit from the oil boom but, rather, continued to suffer increasingly from the runaway inflation. The poor were attracted by Maitatsine inasmuch as he condemned the hypocrisy and ostentation of the "new" Nigeria and promised redemption and salvation to the pure at heart.

Another group attracted by his preaching was the "almajirai," young itinerant students of the Koran who associate themselves with a "malam," known for their simple and poor lifestyle and who earn their daily bread by begging. They have now disappeared from Maiduguri, while the foreigners have been expelled.

There is now competition in Islamic circles to condemn Maitatsine as a heretic who usurped the position of Mohammed, the last and greatest of the prophets. But even this is not very correct, for Maitatsine should be understood within the context of "Mahdi" tradition, still flourishing in the Sudan area. In fact, he resembles the Jibrilla "malam" who led a popular movement at the end of the last century between Bornu and Gombe and was then defeated by the English and exiled to Lokoja. As in the case of Maitatsine, magic powers were attributed to the Jibrilla "malam." He was truly the expression of African Islam in which a certain symbiosis with beliefs and traditional practices is tolerated.

Paradoxically, Maitatsine was seeking to purge the impurities which, according to him, had soiled Islam in the new and materialistic Nigeria. In fact, his followers in the Izala movement do not know what to do with modern technology, hate western education and try to purify the faith by returning to the word of

God (Koran). This explains their antagonism to Sufi brotherhoods existing in the area, such as the Tijaniyya and Kadiiriyya. In their speeches in public, they attack the most moderate members of the Islamic community as betrayers of the faith. These fanatics have recently caused dozens of violent incidents directed against their coreligionists rather than against the unbelievers. This schism clashes with the fundamental concept of "umma" (community) and leaves the most moderate members in a state of shock.

Students

In coalition with the Izala movement there is also the Society of Islamic Students. It is particularly active at the universities, and its members were involved in violent incidents at the Ahmadu Bello University (Zaria) in a protest against the sale of alcoholic beverages on campus. It seems that certain members of this group are responsible for having burned a number of churches in Kano following an attack by the police against the followers of Maitatsine in Maiduguri. It might have been a gesture of solidarity with their brothers. At the same time, another group of the Izala movement instigated disturbances in Kaduna resulting in the death of about 30 persons.

Even if the disorders of 1982 were not as bloody as those of 1980, they are still worrisome in their implications. They show that the killing of Maitatsine and his followers was not the last word in an incipient religious war; that the apparent stability of the new Nigeria is not so reliable and that its recently established constitution is threatened. But, above all, they seem to prove that Nigeria, while not having in its midst a Shiite community, has been deeply influenced by the universal rebirth of Islamic fundamentalism. This is even reflected by certain press organizations, particularly the SUNDAY NEW NIGERIAN, decidedly pro-Libyan and pro-Iranian and hostile to more "secular" governments, such as those of Iraq, Syria and Egypt.

Christian Fundamentalism

The situation is rendered still more complicated by a simultaneous rebirth of fundamentalism within the Christian minority community in the northern part of the country. Even though not very well known because it was not involved in the disturbances, new movements, such as Deeper Christian Life Ministry, are more than provocative in their attitude toward the churches, whether "historically" Protestant or Catholic.

These, also, have the goal of reshaping the Christian community more than converting the "unbelievers" and show very little respect for structures such as ecclesiastic institutions. These, also, are the expression of a revival of Christian fundamentalism on a worldwide scale with its insistence on the "born-again" individual rather than on the Church.

All these factors point to a constant state of unrest on the religious horizon of northern Nigeria. Signs of peace and stability are not encouraging. The world has not yet rid itself of Maitatsine.

3568

CSO: 3428/3

NOTED ECONOMIST SAYS NATION 'GROSSLY UNDERBANKED'

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 13 Jun 83 p 32

[Article by Chima Nwafo]

[Text]

NIGERIA is grossly underbanked, considering her geographical size, population, number of banks and banking offices per square kilometre, as well as in the density of banking offices per unit of population.

Dr. Pius Okigbo, a renowned economist expressed this view while delivering the June lecture of the Nigerian Institute of Bankers - N.I.B.

He opined that about 27 commercial banks and eight merchant banks with a combined total branches of less than 1,000, is not enough. This, according to him, is inadequate because it provides for about one banking office to 102,000 persons, compared to 4,000 in Britain, 6,000 in the United States, and 52,000 in India.

Dr. Okigbo further examined the proportion of transactions of the economic units passing through the banking system by taking the deposits in

the banking system as a proportion of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), of which he said that "total deposits (including savings and time deposits) calculated as a proportion of the GDP at current prices represented some 21.4 per cent in 1975, 30.8 per cent in 1978, and about 18.7 per cent in 1982."

He stated that demand deposits which constituted 45 per cent of money supply in 1972, rising to 60.6 per cent and about 63 per cent in 1977 and 1981 respectively, dropped to 57.9 per cent in 1982.

The economist then stressed the need for specialisation in banking services, which he said, makes it easier for a complex economy like ours, to enjoy every aspect of banking function discharged efficiently.

"In banking and finance, we have not yet reached the sophistication of differentiating

between one function and another, and therefore, of differentiating between one agency and another in the discharge of these functions," Dr. Okigbo emphasized.

Such a situation led to the present system where according to him commercial banks are called upon to shoulder banking and financial functions that could better be discharged by specialised institutions such as Nigeria Industrial Development Bank, Nigerian Bank for Commerce and Industry, Nigerian Agric. and Cooperative Bank and the Federal Mortgage Bank.

The failure of these institutions he further argued, stems partly, from lack of fund, deficiencies in organisation and partly, from their scale of operations which cannot attend adequately to the needs of medium and small scale businessmen.

NEED FOR NEW LEADERSHIP SEEN

Kano SUNDAY TRIUMPH in English 12 Jun 83 p 8

[Article by Kasirim Nwuke: "Change: Fundamental Phenomenon"]

[Text]

NIGERIAN politicians, as politicians all over the world are canvassing for the votes of the electorate, promising them a rosy future and a heaven on earth. But unlike electioneering campaigns and politicians of other countries, ours is a campaign of and over personalities, of religion, of tribe and of money. So-called political heavy weights go to the highest bidder-party. The Nigerian political climate leaves much to be desired.

The issue is made much more complex by the fact that Nigeria's political arena of the 1980s is still dominated by that generation that led our independence struggle. The once visionary leaders of yesterday have become the myopic ones of today, who have now directed and concentrated all their efforts, not in arousing sentiments of national unity and loyalty but in manipulating ethnic loyalties and ethnic distrust in order to increase their support (the Nigerian press helps them effectively in achieving this

goal). It does appear that the only issue that unite our leaders in the 1950s was opposition to British colonialism; and even that too was not free from ethnic wranglings.

How else should one understand the statement credited to the Attorney-General and Minister for Justice, Chief Richard Akinjide that "Yorubas now occupy the fourth position in the scheme of things in Nigeria" or Emeka Ojukwu's outlandish and pregnant utterances about the position of the Igbo nation in Nigeria? All attempts at nation building seem to have been superficial, lacking in personal commitment on the part of the leaders. Each leader tries as much as he can to improve the lot of his kinsmen, tribesmen, **not of his countrymen**, while in power.

The reason for this national malaise is not far-fetched: Our nationalist leaders were no revolutionaries in the true sense of the word. As educated people, the foetus of a newly emerging class, feeding off the fat of the society, they were in no way ready to des-

troys the fabrics of a society in which they found themselves very comfortable.

The political upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s including the civil war and the much trumpeted failure of the N.P.N. federal government cannot and should not be seen as personal failures of whoever was the Head of State, Prime Minister or President or whichever political party that was in power at that point in time. They were, and are, all national failures: Sir Tafawa Balewa assumed the office of the Prime Minister of the federation after the leader of the N.P.C., Sir Ahmadu Bello had expressed no interest in the office. General Yakubu Gowon did not plan the coup that brought him to power (neither did Ironsi nor Obasanjo). President Shehu Shagari in 1978 (reluctantly?) accepted to be the N.P.N.'s presidential candidate. In as much as these persons inadvertently found themselves occupying the highest office in the land, it is plausible to posit that they had no preconceived plans nor well-thought out ideas of governing. Consequently the

country strayed under their captainship of the ship of state; every thing was done on an adhoc basis and for political exigency and expediency. Neither did ethnic suspicion and distrust make the job any easier for them. They failed, and the nation failed with them.

Today not much has changed. Though nationwide, there's an increased class awareness and expressions of class-belonging and togetherness, most Nigerians still think that security lies in their ethnicity. Political parties in the Nigerian context are not and never have been an association of people sharing similar views and organised to seek and exercise political power. Politics is business, and as in business, the goal is to maximise your profits. Carpet-crossing, or better still, political prostitution is shamelessly practised. The rationale for any one person for declaration for any political party, seems to be how close that party is to the national treasury. People mortgage their consciences and convictions for the attraction of office.

Obviously this situation cannot be allowed to continue forever. Change is urgently needed. A radical and fundamental change, a change which will mean a complete break with the past is wanted before Nigeria becomes another Ghana, another African story of a country that had all the chances but blew them. Change the essence of history a phenomenon that is inevitable in the Nigerian situation should be viewed with reference to the problems our country has faced and is facing. Our understanding of our problems and our sense of identity as Nigerians should be the principal building force of this change, a change that should integrate us as a nation and enable us to act effectively in common to solve our domestic and foreign problems; the problems that pose a threat to our survival and existence as a nation.

But the nation, all of us seem not to be cognisant of this problem, of this threat. We refuse to accept responsibilities in the interest of our nation because we expect the political leaders to have a magic wand with which to solve our problems. This indifference to societal responsibility this writer presumes stems from the fact that we think of political leadership in terms of the few leaders who make the headlines but not in terms of all of us, the millions of us who in one way or the other play a role in policy decisions.

To effect change, a new breed of politicians and of Nigerians is needed. We cannot afford to continue to rely on our present corrupt leadership, a leadership that is intermarried with the traditional bourgeoisie-

institution that resist change.

This herculean task falls on the Nigerian youth because he is the instrument of change. To effectively take up this challenge, youth must put an end to the wanton destruction of public property, a destruction perpetrated in the name of strikes for better conditions in our institutions of higher learning; to ideological lassitude and dogmatism; and expunge the if-you-can't-fight-them-you-join-them syndrome from our national psyche. Young Nigerians should stop imitating any and everything European if we want our nation to survive.

The term youth here, does not refer only to the biologically young. It refers to all, both old and young, who adapt to change and who see the need for a change, for as Bob Kennedy said "Youth is a temper of the will, a quality of the imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, of appetite for adventure over the love of ease." The active involvement of very old people in the Green Movement of West Germany and the Anti-nuclear movements of Europe gives credence to the above position, for in changing a system, all hands must be on deck.

There exist in this country organisations, in which young people can acquire leadership qualities — e.g. the NANS and the various students' associations; the youth wings of the various political parties etc. It seems however, that many young Nigerians have refused to make use of these organisations.

The question that will next be posited is: from

which section of our socially dualistic (traditional and modern) society should this new leadership come?

Basically new leadership comes from, firstly the incumbent leadership, members of which may, out of conviction or necessity decide that the system is out of date and that a drastic change is necessary. The realisation of this necessity is always consequent upon the fact that the incumbent leadership feels threatened by an emerging progressive force (e.g. Tsar Alexander I of Russia was forced in 1861 to emancipate the serfs when he felt his empire sufficiently threatened).

This type of new leadership is rarely prepared to go all the way for sooner or later she comes to realise that she is reforming herself and her class out of the position that they have traditionally enjoyed and setting in motion a process that is bound to undermine the very basis of that class. This kind of schism in Nigeria is best represented by the example of the P.R.P. Perhaps, Malam was confused as to how much farther he should continue with his emancipation of the Talakawa and not emancipate his own class out, hence his alleged flirtation with the N.P.N. and the consequent disintegration and imminent demise of the P.R.P.

Secondly, leadership could be derived from those who are dissatisfied with the incumbent leadership. These people are in most cases labelled rebels or dissidents and they always

[words illegible]

Youth and leadership have been stressed in this article, not because of the accelerating or delaying

effects that leaders do exert on society or the imprint that they stamp on the manner in which change takes place (that is vital) but because leadership and youth are in a symbiotic relationship, leadership qualities are acquired in youth. And nothing should militate against the active participation of Nigerian youth, in policy making and decisions.

The challenges facing this nation require a new leadership that will be more inspiring (as Ghaddafi's in Libya), more self-denying (as Ayatollah Khomeini's in Iran), and more productive (as Stalin's in Russia). It should be a leadership that will be synonymous with sacrifices, more responsibilities and more burdens. All these should make the new leadership less attractive, less of contractors thorough-fare and less of an ethnic chieftain's domain.

The new leadership should be such that will transcend ethnic barriers, one that seeks not the triumph of the individual nor of the ethnic group, or of the political party but one that seeks the triumph of the country — Nigeria, our one and only home on earth over all other interests.

To do this, courage, moral courage, that rarest of all rare commodities, the most essential, vital quality of all those who seek change, is needed. For the change that is wanted is not the kind advocated by the so-called progressives (theirs is a change of guards). The change that is needed is one that will usher in a new era, a new epoch. To precipitate this new era, a radical change in political leadership is most sought. This is the challenge to Youth.

NIGERIA

LEKWOT CALLS FOR CORDIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ARMY, GOVERNMENT

Enugu DAILY STAR in English 13 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Nkomah Monday]

[Text] The General Officer commanding the 82 Division of the Nigerian Army, Enugu, Major-General Zamani Lekwot, has called for cordial relationship between the army and the state government.

Addressing members of the 82 Division Headquarters and Signals in Enugu last week, at the army parade ground, General Lekwot emphasised that the inspection exercise was an annual event organised by him in order to enhance discipline in the division.

He said that Nigeria as a fast developing nation could not afford to depreciate in her contemporary defensive goal, and that efforts were being made to put the country's defence in a more sophisticated empire.

General Lekwot also noted that in spite of the prevailing economic recession, efforts were being made to improve both the living standard and welfare of the army corps in Enugu.

He however expressed satisfaction with the cooperation between the state government and his division in establishing two junior command secondary schools at Apaukwa Army Barracks and Awkunanaw Barracks, respectively.

Earlier, Gen. Lekwot had inspected the quarter guards mounted by soldiers of the 82 division.

CSO: 3400/1573

INCREASING MILITARIZATION OF SOCIETY FEARED

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 4 Jun 83 p 4

[From Letters to the Editor]

[Text] ANY intelligent observer of the political scene in Nigeria since the departure of the military in 1979 would not but be worried about the increasing militarization of the Nigeria police.

Every little disturbance seems to attract the attention of the Mobile Force which is no longer a police force but the military police in police garb.

A police force in most parts of the civilized world except in the Americas and the continent of Europe is a civil force and is therefore unarmed but here in Nigeria the tendency is to give police force Uzi machine guns.

What is most disturbing in this is that psychologically unexamined, often times drunk young men are given lethal weapon to parade streets without anybody being mindful of the possibility of accidents or of some deranged men in uniforms running amok and committing murder.

The recent reports of Mobile police men in Bendel and Lagos states using their weapons to kill and maim innocent people is a pointer to the dangers ahead.

I lived in North America for almost ten years off and on, without having this feeling of armed and ubiquitous presence of danger that one has in Nigeria about an increasingly gun-happy society.

Is this show of force really necessary in a supposedly

democratic society? Are the governments of Nigeria afraid of their own people? The naked display of armed power by the Nigerian police gives one the feeling of army of occupation.

This is neither in the interest of the people nor of the governments. Familiarity breeds contempt. If the government brings out the Mobile Police every time there is a simple commotion, what will it do when hell really breaks loose?

Our government should realise that constant display of armed might has a brutalising effect on the citizenry, it cheapens life and makes people to feel that possession of guns is all that is necessary to demonstrate strength and leads people to want to acquire these weapons to demonstrate that they too can face whatever dangers they might be confronted with, hence the constant smuggling into this country of weapons of precision and the call by some members of the Nation Assembly that possession of guns is a democratic right of the people.

Recently, I was privileged to be in a welcoming party for the Vice-President, Dr. Alex I. Ekwueme in Maiduguri and the presence of guns was simply overwhelming.

I counted the number of separated organisational armed

forces at the airport and these included, the army, the regular police, the Mobile police, the Customs, the Prisons.

All these forces were represented by gun totting and gun happy young men and their not-too-young officers.

I think this is a dangerous trend and must be reversed before it is too late. We have been a lucky country so far and we should not wait until a medically unexamined armed man shoots an important person in Nigeria before we stop this unnecessary militarization of Nigerian society.

The irony of all this is that growth of this tendency seemed to have increased with the coming of civilians into government, in this way our so-called democratic governments have exposed their dependence on the armed police; a dependence that exposes either the weakness of the governments or the feeling of insecurity of an increasingly detached political leadership haunted by the fear of the society's perception of what is a hopelessly corrupt and decadent political leadership.

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DETAILS ON TRADE RELATIONS GIVEN

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 13 Jun 83 p 1

[Text]

BETWEEN 1982 and this year (1983) Nigeria initiated a total of eight trade agreements with an equal number of countries for purposes of bilateral trade.

Confirming this recently in Lagos the Federal Minister of Commerce, Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusuf, said that the aim of these agreements was to open up foreign markets for Nigerian goods and facilitates trade transactions.

The eight countries are the United Republic of Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Equatorial Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Bulgaria, Turkey, India and Pakistan.

Representations

The minister also disclosed that there were commercial representations in 14 major Nigerian missions abroad and that there were plans to create more.

It would be recalled that the first-ever selling (trade)

mission of Nigerian exporters to countries of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1981 was confronted by this question of trade agreements and the ratification of the ECOWAS protocol on trade.

Members of this mission were reportedly brought face to face with some of the problems that arise in international trade between countries that do not have formal trade agreements.

The countries visited included Senegal, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, and Togo and among these only Ivory Coast has signed a formal trade agreement with Nigeria.

The signing of trade agreements precedes the inclusion of a Commercial Attache in the Nigerian Mission to the countries concerned and as at now Nigeria has 14 such Commercial Attaches.

Our investigations also revealed last

week that copies of the Nigerian Export Directory published in 1982 by the Nigerian Export Promotion Council (NEPC) are now available in most of Nigeria's Missions abroad.

The directory supplies the names and addresses of almost three thousand (3000) Nigerian manufacturers of various items and the Customs code numbers of the products as classified in the international market.

Early this month the West African Chambers of Commerce met and members put their heads together to sort out some thorny issues militating against intra-West African trade.

Similarly, the Heads of State of ECOWAS nations took far reaching decisions at their just concluded Conakry meeting on the trade protocol of the ECOWAS Charter aimed at arriving at a common Customs union in the sub-region.

NNPC HIGHLIGHTS NEPA'S PROBLEMS

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 20 Jun 83 p 1

[Article by Enyina Iroha]

[Text]

THE Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation has disclaimed responsibility for the failure of NEPA's Afam IV thermal power station to come on stream on schedule. Some of the causes it says, are beyond the control of both NNPC and NEPA.

Taking newsmen round its gas installations in Ughelli/Sapele axis and the Afam/Bomu/Obigbo North gas fields, the NNPC explained the reasons for the delay in Afam pointing out that in the Western area (Ughelli/Sapele) the NEPA plagued by its own internal problems has been able to consume only one tenth of the gas it contracted to buy from the NNPC, and in addition has been unable to pay for all the gas it has consumed.

The NNPC produces gas in Ughelli and Sapele to serve the NEPA thermal power station in Ughelli and Sapele and the Delta Steel Company, Aladja. From Ughelli it also supplies some quantity of gas to private companies like the Delta Glass Company, Ughelli.

Supplies to the Ajakuta Steel Company Limited come from Oben.

In the Eastern District it produces gas in Afam, Bomu, Imo River and Obigbo North and supplies NEPA in Afam, Rivers State Development Corporation, Amadi, Nigerian Petroleum Refinery Company Limited, Alsea-Elema, Nigerian Breweries, Aba Lever Brothers, Aba, Inter-Equitables, Aba, Associates Industries, Aba and Textile Mills, Aba.

From a purely commercial standpoint, it is easy to identify the point where the Minister of Mines and Power, Albaji Hassan was either misbriefed or insufficiently briefed about the gas supply situation to the National Electric Power Authority in the Eastern District in Afam.

The Minister said in May and repeated it again last week that the inability of NEPA to get its Afam IV thermal power plant on stream was caused by the Nigerian National Petro-

leum Corporation's inability to supply the gas needed to fire the turbines.

A Business Times investigation revealed facts and figures on the gas industry in Nigeria, with emphasis on the demand and supply of the product in the two main areas of concentration of gas installations — Ughelli/Sapele in Bendel State and Afam/Bomu/Obigbo North in the Rivers State.

NNPC gas experts in the two locations were very categorical in their assertion that overall, NEPA'S consumption of gas has fallen grossly below projected and contracted levels, thus involving the NNPC in colossal waste.

An NNPC insider in Port Harcourt in frustration declared: "NEPA cannot on its own accuse the NNPC of causing a delay in commissioning its Afam IV project. The minister might have spoken out of inadequate or unbalanced account rendered to him of the causes of the delay".

He observed that the problems plaguing the Afam IV project were first created by NEPA when it commenced work on the project without notifying NNPC of its projected gas requirements. NNPC was informed six months later when work on NEPA's Afam IV power station had reached advanced stage of construction. This placed NEPA Afam IV project ahead of NNPC gas supply project.

Secondly, he pointed out, when the NEPA proposal was made in 1980, it was planned to supply it from the Bomu gas field, which is the nearest field to Afam. But the plan aborted as a result of a land dispute between the two communities owning the parcel of land chosen by Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) for siting the gas treatment plant. By the end of 1980 when it became apparent that the SPDC could not reconcile the two communities, the site was abandoned.

In early 1981, after the Bomu site was

dropped a fresh search for an alternative feasible proposal was embarked upon resulting in the choice of Obigbo North. Work on this site was interrupted by the unusually heavy rains of 1981, which made field studies impossible. Meanwhile, the NNPC claimed, it notified NEPA of these unforeseen delays.

The third factor contributing to the delay of

the project, according to NNPC sources, was delay in opening a letter of credit for the supply of line-pipe. Although industry sources said that the application was made in August 1982, the Central Bank of Nigeria, because of the unfavourable economic situation in the country could only open the L/C, as recently as May 1983.

An NNPC source described this chain of

events as "a veritable force major. "The NEPA were six months late in giving us notice, the heavy rains of 1981 delayed our field studies, and we were not in a position to order the Central Bank to open a Letter of Credit earlier than it did. Any accusations against the NNPC which does not take cognisance of these extenuating circumstances is uncharitable".

Another report from the Western area on gas operations tells a different story. There the NNPC total installed production capacity is 508m standard cubic feet daily. But the average daily consumption by all industries is 160m standard cubic feet, that is 32 per cent of total NNPC installed capacity.

CSO: 3400/1573

MANUFACTURED ANIMAL FEED DEMAND INCREASES

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 13 Jun 83 p 32

[Article by Dapo Ajibola]

[Text]

DEMAND for manufactured animal feed in Nigeria will rise phenomenally between now and the end of the decade because of the recent high tempo in the development of livestock industry in the country.

It is expected that the present level of manufactured animal feed which is about one million tonnes will by 1990 have grown to be 3.5 million tonnes with an annual growth rate of 15.76 per cent.

Consequently a sum of between N120 million and N200 million would need to be spent to bring production to this level.

According to the Federal Livestock Department, the rise in the quantity of feeds will be directly related to the growth of livestock population now growing at the rate of 20 per cent per annum.

The level of demand shows that about 95 per cent of the total goes to the poultry industry while 3 per cent goes to piggery, 1.5 per cent to cattle and .5 per cent to others.

Nigeria's estimated poultry population is about 182 million of which the exotic birds totalled 20 million and the local birds totalled about 124 million.

Against this background exists about 232 feed mills in the country with an aggregate production of 860,335 tonnes of feeds. Nearly 60 per cent have capacity of 2.5 tonnes per hour and below 33 per cent have capacity of 2.5 - 5.0 per cent per hour and only 3 mills have capacity of over 10 per cent tonnes per hour.

Bendel and Ogun States have the highest number of mills with 26 each, closely followed by Oyo and Lagos States

with 25 and 23 mills respectively. They are followed by Imo with 18 mills, Anambra 20, Ondo 16, Kwara 13, and Cross River 11.

The seven Northern States, Bauchi, Borno, Gongola, Kaduna, Kano, Plateau and Sokoto which accounted for over 80 per cent of the local birds have only 37 mills which is about 16 per cent of the whole.

The distribution of installed capacity as between the states is very interesting. Although Bendel and Ogun States have the largest number of mills it is Oyo and Lagos States that have the greatest installed capacity.

Together with four other states, namely Anambra, Bendel, Ogun and Igo, they account for 68 per cent of installed milling capacity in the country. These six states are also

characterised by the greater spread of installed capacity among mills of different sizes.

Private mills account for about 80 per cent of total establishment and installed capacity. Most of them are found located close to major urban centres especially in the Southern states of the country.

A significant feature of the livestock feed industry is the organisation of feedmills on a franchise system whereby a few large mills notably Livestock Feed Limited, Amo-Sanders, Top Mill and the Mitchell Group, oversee the production of activity and quality of output of a number of small and medium scale mills operating under their franchise.

But there is little or no quality control of most feed produced outside the franchise system.

THREE FRENCH FINANCING AGREEMENTS SIGNED

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 15, 16 Jun 83

15 Jun 83 p 37

[Text] Mr Mamoudou Toure, minister of economic and financial affairs, yesterday afternoon signed three financing agreements totaling Fr CFA 277.5 million with Mr Georges Martres, head of the French cooperation mission in Senegal.

These three conventions will, among other things, make it possible to improve the dependability of seed supplies, guarantee their quality, give the peasants increased responsibility for management of the seed stock, and concurrently reduce the financial commitments and risks borne by the public sector.

The agreements also provide 67.5 million of our **[CFA]** francs for testing of irrigation techniques for use in intensive wood production (both firewood and rudimentary lumber) in the Senegal River valley.

Finally, a 150 million franc financing agreement will make possible the continuation of the "Search for Phosphates" project through prospecting in the river region, drilling in the shallows of the Kaffrine region.

After those conventions were signed, the minister and the head of the CCCE **[Central Fund for Economic Cooperation]** in Dakar, Mr Jean Charpentier, signed another agreement opening up a Fr CFA 2 billion line of credit for the partial financing of an emergency investment program for SENELEC **[Senegalese Electric Energy Distribution Company]**. That program involves several projects, including improvement of the Dakar distribution system, construction of an electric power plant at Tambacounda and construction of a new high tension line between Dakar and Thies.

At the conclusion of the two ceremonies, the minister of economic and financial affairs thanked the French authorities for the sizeable aid they have continued to provide our country. Those agreements, he said, will make existing resources go further.

Mr Mamoudou Toure noted that all this translates into action the determination of our governments to maintain exemplary cooperative relations.

Mr Georges Martres, head of the French cooperation mission in Senegal, disclosed that during its May meeting, the executive committee of the Aid and Cooperation Fund [FAC] approved new financing for Senegal. These packages, totaling Fr CFA 2 billion in the first half of this year, deal with cultural preservation, support for the SAED [Senegal River Basin Development and Operations Company], exploration for lignite, creation of a chemicals division in CEREO [Experimental Engineering Research and Study Center], a medical unit in the University Projects Center, experimentation in plaster construction, and public health assistance.

[6 Jun 83 p 5]

[Text] An error slipped into yesterday's edition in the introductory paragraph on the signing of agreements between France and Senegal. On page 5 the language should have read "more than Fr CFA 2 billion" rather than "Fr CFA 317 million." The exact figure is 2.277 billion. We ask our readers and other interested parties to be so kind as to forgive us for this regrettable error.

9516

CSO: 3419/1004

RESULTS OF JOINT GERMAN-SENEGALESE COMMISSION MEETING

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 14 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by A. Fall "Exemplary Cooperation: Joint German-Senegalese Commission"]

[Excerpt] The Joint German-Senegalese Commission has been in session since yesterday at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to settle on the new economic and financial cooperation program that is going to be implemented over the next 2 years.

According to the minister of planning and cooperation, Mr Sheikh Hamidou Kane, head of the Senegalese delegation, German involvement in Senegal is "exemplary in every respect." Over the course of the 22 years since our country became independent, the FRG has provided Senegal technical and financial assistance worth a total of about Fr CFA 70 billion. Thirty percent of this assistance was in the form of grants and the remainder in long-term credits (30 to 50 years) afforded on extremely favorable terms.

German-Senegalese cooperation has thus evolved both quantitatively and qualitatively in tandem with Senegal's high-priority programs: pastoral and rural water projects, rural development, reforestation, industrialization and health, etc. "In all these fields," stressed the minister of planning and cooperation, "the FRG has always shown its willingness to support our development efforts. Now it is a question of consolidating them."

Dr Wolf Preuss, general manager of the Africa division of the Federal Cooperation Ministry and head of the German delegation, nevertheless indicated to Mr Sheikh Hamidou Kane that the German economy has been especially hard-hit by the deepening of the economic crisis over the last 2 years. Unemployment and budgetary problems have been exacerbated. But Senegal is not for the moment affected by this decline in German assistance. "Last year's level will be maintained," Dr Preuss confirmed yesterday. But, he added, German-Senegalese cooperation in the future must "take the global context into account."

He also urged the two delegations to review progress to date on projects already under way and to evaluate the effectiveness with which the previously allotted credits have been utilized. This should be done, he said, before

considering whether to make further appropriations. The head of the German delegation also drew the attention of the Senegalese authorities and experts to the fact that, within the framework of the overall cooperation, his government might be obliged to ask ours to import from the FRG the equipment destined for the agricultural projects it is financing. This, he indicated, would only be necessary on a temporary basis.

Dr Preuss, in his concluding remarks, emphasized the need to pay agricultural producers prices that will give them the incentive to produce more. He also said Senegal's economic policy needs further liberalization.

9516

CSO: 3419/1004

REGIONAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PROGRAM TO BE SET UP

Victoria NATION in English 27 Jun 83 p 2

[Text] DELEGATES at last week's workshop on Meteorological Data in Solar and Wind Energy Applications, have agreed to set up a regional scientific research programme in the field of solar radiation.

According to Seychellois Research and Development Officer, Dr Selwyn Gendron, the immediate aim of the research programme was to obtain a deeper scientific understanding of solar radiation in the countries represented at the Barbarons Beach Hotel workshop.

Dr Gendron said the method of research to be adopted would be along the lines of that developed for the European Economic Community.

The method makes use of existing meteorological data, which have been collected for several years now by meteorologists, thus eliminating the need for large installations of sophisticated and expensive equipment.

Dr Gendron said the regional programme would ensure an effective transfer of knowledge and experience gained elsewhere in the world, to the countries involved and to places where solar energy could be efficiently applied.

The first phase of the programme would be completed in a year's time and results will be made available to professional sectors, in particular to those involved in building designs, agriculture, and in solar engineering.

The delegates to the workshop however did not feel that wind energy held much promise in immediate future and did not consider a regional co-operation programme to be vital at present.

The researchers and meteorologists who came from 14 Commonwealth countries and from other organisations, felt that the workshop had been most useful.

This, Dr Gendron pointed out, was important to note because the Commonwealth Science Council was emphasising the importance of a sound scientific approach to the problems of development, whenever it sponsors workshops.

Dr Gendron added that the workshop on Meteorological Data in Wind and Solar Energy Applications, was characterized by a high level of scientific input from acknowledged active experts in the scientific community.

Such workshop, he said, ensured that the participants became more aware of the latest developments in their field of interest.

CSO: 3400/1575

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH CHINA--SEYCHELLES expects to see increased participation by the Chinese in development projects on the islands, Youth and Defence Minister Ogilvy Berlouis has declared on his return from a five-day visit to the People's Republic of China. Minister Berlouis said that during talks his delegation held with their Chinese counterparts in Peking, both sides expressed the desire to further develop co-operation between China and Seychelles. The Youth and Defence Minister, accompanied on the visit by Major MacDonald Marenco and Mrs. Antoinette Jolicoeur, met Vice Premier Wan Li, Vice Minister of Defence Xiao Ki and other top officials in Peking. "I can confirm that my delegation is satisfied with the results of our visit," Mr. Berlouis told the national press in Victoria. He said that after talks with youth officials there, Peking has agreed for example to provide sports equipment to Seychellois athletes. The Minister added that his visit, which followed that of President Rene in April, was new evidence of the wishes of the Chinese and Seychellois peoples to strengthen their ties. "Already there are many projects and other co-operation programmes involving the two nations," Mr. Berlouis said. The Youth and Ministerial delegation spent part of their trip in the city of Shanghai where Mr. Berlouis inspected the Chinese East Fleet based there. [Text] [Victoria NATION in English 27 Jun 83 p 1]

CSO: 3400/1575

NEW MOROCCAN AMBASSADOR SPEAKS ON COOPERATION

AB060656 Freetown Domestic Service in English 2000 GMT 5 Jul 83

[Text] The new ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco in Sierra Leone, Mr Khalil Hajoui, has spoken of his country's desire to develop both economic, commercial and cultural cooperation with Sierra Leone. Mr Hajoui, who presented his credentials to President Siaka Stevens at State House today, (?announced) his country's willingness to identify areas where Morocco could be of assistance to this country. The ambassador noted that negotiations for the establishment of airline connections between Casablanca and Freetown were in their final stage. The envoy stated that relations between our two countries will increase after regular airline connections. He hoped that maritime connections will be in operation after airline links are established.

The ambassador said Morocco was following with keen interest the efforts of government for the development of Sierra Leone, inspite of an unfavorable international economic (?trend). Mr Hajoui lauded President Stevens for his wisdom and competence, displayed in matters affecting the OAU, and recalled with satisfaction the high sense of responsibility the president demonstrated as chairman of the OAU. The envoy stressed Morocco's African culture and its efforts toward the promotion of African unity, and said as a peace-loving country guided by the principles of international organizations, Morocco has always advocated the use of peaceful means for the settlement of disputes between states.

Receiving the ambassador's credentials, President Stevens noted with great satisfaction King Hassan's genuine willingness and that of his government to maintain and strengthen the cordial relations happily existing between Morocco and Sierra Leone. He assured the king, through the envoy, of his government's support and cooperation at all times. Dr Stevens emphasized Morocco's African character and the kingdom's efforts in promoting African unity. He observed that Morocco's example and its determination to maintain the dignity, credibility and unity of the OAU, is a shining light which every African nation should aspire to. As a nation, President Stevens said, we share the belief that as member states of the OAU, the United Nations and the Movement of the Nonaligned Countries, the principles enshrined in the charters of these organizations ought to guide and direct our sight in the implementation of resolutions and declarations of these organizations.

President Stevens noted the interest with which Morocco had been following our development efforts as a genuine wish to further develop strong economic, commercial and cultural ties. He gave the assurance that he will not spare any efforts to afford the Moroccan Government the opportunity to study areas in our development where assistance could best be given. The president welcomed the assurance that after negotiations for the establishment of regular airline connections between Morocco and Sierra Leone, an agreement on maritime links will commence. Dr Stevens assured the ambassador of the cooperation and support of his government and that of the people of Sierra Leone in the accomplishment of his mission.

Earlier, Ambassador Hajoui was introduced to President Stevens by Foreign Affairs Minister Dr Abdulaye Conteh. At the ceremony were First Vice President S. I. Koroma and the Second Vice President and Minister of Finance Salia Jusu-Sheriff, cabinet ministers, the member of parliament for Kaanan Central Mr Lamine Gove, the secretary to the president Mr Abdul Karim and senior civil servants. Ambassador Hajoui is resident in Monrovia, Liberia.

CSO: 3400/1561

BRIEFS

BRITISH HELP BRIDGING PROJECT--The British Royal Engineers have concluded the first phase of a bridging project in Sierra Leone financed by the British Government; the project included the building of two Bailey bridges at Moyamba and Bo in the Southern province, and the redecking of eight other bridges throughout the country. The British Engineers were assisted by the Signal and Engineering Squad of the Sierra Leone Military Forces and Ministry of Works. Meanwhile, a British technical team has carried out a survey for further bridging projects in the country. --A government statement has said that contrary to widespread rumour, the Commissioner of Police, Mr. J.A. Grant, is not on leave "prior to retirement". The statement pointed out that Mr. Grant was on 333 days' vacation leave duly approved by the President and Minister of Defence. Dr Siaka Stevens, and that he will return to his post at the expiration of his vacation leave. Mr. P.M. Johnson is acting as Commissioner. [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE in English No 33, May 83 p 10]

CSO: 3400/1590

ISLAMIC COUNCIL PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE REPORTED

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 10 Jun 83 p 20

[Article by Farook Khan]

[Text] As Muslims worldwide prepare to observe the holy month of Ramadaan, those in South Africa have a "very definite" choice, according to the President of the Islamic Council of South Africa, Sheik Abu-Bakr Najaar.

In a special message to the DAILY NEWS, Sheik Najaar said that the time had now come for Muslims to make their stand, either they stick to their faith and reject the Government's constitutional proposals or go against Islam and follow Prime Minister P W Botha.

"Ramadaan has a special significance for every Muslim and it is our duty to adhere Allah, follow the teachings of his Messenger and to the Holy Koran. We cannot have two principles. We either be Muslims through and through or go along with the Government with its proposals which is nothing short of naked apartheid," said Sheik Najaar.

He pointed out that no Muslim could accept the proposals and those that elected to follow Mr Botha would be expelled from the Council if they have not resigned by then.

"We must cling to that which give us our identity, our dignity and that is Islam. We are Muslims, first, second and third. We cannot be Muslim by name and politically be something else and then have another set of rules for economics.

"I don't believe that we will lose anything by rejecting these proposals. Those people who are going for it want false glory and a few extra rands. But in the process they are going against their faith. In the long term, I believe that we as a community and as a people will be respected and be better off by rejecting these proposals," said Sheik Najaar.

He added that this Ramadaan was crucial to all Muslims and now more than ever before a very definite choice faced them.

"We are being asked to look at a brother and accept him because he is White or Brown and reject another because he is Black. If one section of the

community is victimised then as Muslims, we too are victimised," said Sheik Najaar.

The fiery leader then referred to those Muslims who pulled out of the Council so that they could go along with Mr Botha.

"It came as no surprise to me that these people resigned from the Council to accept the Government's new plan. It is also important to note that these people got no support from other organisations within our ranks.

"Had they not resigned when they did, I have no doubt in my mind that they would have been expelled. They are no big loss to us," said Sheik Najaar.

Sheik Najaar said that he could see no other way he could give leadership.

"No matter what I did after giving my people leadership to go along with the Government's proposals. Whether I prayed 24 hours a day or crawled two metres underground, I would not have escaped the wrath of Allah," said Sheik Najaar.

He pointed out that Ramadaan was the time for all Muslims to rally round and uphold the Islamic principles as laid down in the Koran, no matter the price they are forced to pay.

"Ramadaan is an auspicious event for all Muslims, it's a time when we take stock of ourselves, fast during the hours of sunlight and pray for all mankind regardless of their religious affiliation. It is also the time to reaffirm our stand against injustices," said Sheik Najaar.

He then wished all Muslims, "Ramadaan Mubarak."

CSO: 3400/1574

ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS BODY FACES MAJOR SPLIT

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 8 Jun 83 p 15

[Text] ANOTHER religious organisation, the Sydenham Muslim Association, has pulled out of the Islamic Council of South Africa (ICSA).

The association, led by Mr Abdulla Khan, is the second to break its ties with ICSA in a week.

Last week the Juma Musjid Trust, which controls the Grey Street Mosque, the largest in the southern hemisphere, decided to pull out because of ICSA's strong opposition to the Government's constitutional proposals.

Announcing the Juma Musjid Trust's withdrawal from ICSA, chairman Mr Aboobaker Ismail said "politics should be left to the politicians".

Mr Khan, an unsuccessful candidate in the 1981 SAIC elections, said ICSA should worry about Islamic activities and not indulge in politics.

It did not have a mandate from Muslims to take a stand on the Government's new dispensation, he said.

"We do not admit that the new proposals are the best solution, but we feel that they are an improvement on the pres-

ent set-up. Under the circumstances, my association supports the new proposals," said Mr Khan.

Mr Ibrahim Bawa, executive director of ICSA, said although he had not received the Sydenham Muslim Association's resignation, it would not be unexpected.

"Officials who work with government-created institutions would find it difficult to be members of ICSA, whose policies may not tally with their activities," said Mr Bawa.

Meanwhile, Muslim leaders fear the row could split the religious movement right down the middle.

With ICSA heading for its worst internal revolt, indications are that a number of its affiliates will follow suit and resign.

Community spokesman Mr Mohammed Suleman said plans were well underway for a rival body being formed.

"A number of affiliates pledged to non-interference in politics are reviewing their membership of the council.

"They are disturbed at ICSA's declared opposition to the Government's initiatives for a

revised constitution," Mr Suleman said.

A trustee of the Juma Musjid Trust, Mr A. B. Ismail, questioned ICSA's mandate to speak on behalf of the Muslim community on the constitutional issue.

"I would like to know when that mandate was given and how it was obtained," Mr Ismail said.

"I accept that Islam places a duty on its followers to fight oppression, but Mr Bawa must remember that Islam does not place a duty on anybody to replace one form of oppression with another."

Mr Bawa said: "The ostensible ground advanced by the Trust that Islam had no role to play in politics and that politics ought to be left to the politicians shows a pathetic lack of understanding of what Islam is.

"Islam is a complete code of life covering the principles of the entire field of human affairs from the most personal matters to complex international relations."

That being the case, Mr Bawa added, ICSA did not require the authority or mandate of any person or organisation.

FOREIGN TRADE PROBLEMS EXAMINED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 12 Jun 83 p 5

[Article in "The Rex Column"]

[Text]

THE South African economy is superbly endowed physically, with a mineral board unsurpassed by most countries of equivalent size.

But it is highly vulnerable to the actions of its trade partners.

Foreign trade constitutes only about 20% of total demand and supply of goods and services, but because of its peculiar composition this trade component has been a major destabilising influence and a permanent headache to the authorities in managing the economy.

Exports play a pivotal role in any open economy. Four commodities — gold, diamonds, coal and platinum — account for nearly 70% of South Africa's exports.

Unhappily for South Africa, demand for these commodities comes from the world energy sector or from professional speculators.

Neither source of demand has proved exactly stable in the past decade and the outlook remains uncertain for now.

■ ■ ■

Because they are inadequately diversified and have been specialised in highly volatile commodities, South African exports in the past have been a major destabilising influence on economic performance.

Gold has always been South Africa's main export commodity, contributing in the past decade from 35% to as much as 50% of total export earnings.

Ironically, gold's direct contribution to gross domestic product and export volumes has been falling steadily in recent years.

Gold's contribution to total mining production was 65% in 1973, but this fell to 55% by 1982, as other minerals (par-

ticularly coal, diamonds, platinum, iron ore and copper) increased their contribution.

Gold's share of export volumes declined more slowly over this period — from 65% in 1975 to about 61% in 1982.

■ ■ ■

This was because all gold production continued to be exported, while a considerable share of the increase in non-gold mining production was consumed domestically instead of being exported. Ecom and Iscor, particularly, were large consumers of coal and iron ore.

These gradual changes in gold production and export volumes have been stable enough in their direct impact on GDP and exports.

The destabilisation has been of an indirect nature. Through major price gyrations from \$35 an ounce in 1968 to \$825 in 1980 and subsequent fluctuations, gold has essentially functioned as a major money tap, which could "pour forth as well as taketh away".

Whenever the gold price soared, money poured into the economy from overseas, significantly increasing the money supply and causing negative real interest rates.

This provided a major incentive to South African consumers and investors to borrow to buy consumer goods and to speculate in financial counters such as shares, property and other hard assets.

These volume purchases of goods and services added indirectly to growth in GDP in a major way. This in turn led to the major surges in import volumes characteristic of such boom periods.

The gold price has also shown an ability to decline: from \$200 an ounce in early 1975 to \$100 in mid-1976, from \$825 in early 1980 to \$400 a few months later and from \$520 in early 1983 to around \$400 at present.

These price declines have on two occasions — in 1976 and in 1981-1982 — led to sudden major turnarounds on the balance of payments.

■ ■ ■

During such price breaks export revenues declined significantly but imports continued rising meteorically because of the stimulation of earlier increases in the gold price.

Whenever such haemorrhaging occurs on the balance of payments, the authorities have two choices.

They can prolong the boom by borrowing extensively overseas. This was the decision taken by most developing nations in the aftermath of the first oil crisis, when Western industrial demand for their exports declined precipitously.

Perhaps fortunately, this option to finance a major shortfall on the current account of the balance of payments by way of capital inflows was not available to the South African authorities in 1976-1977.

In the post-Soweto period, the private sector effected a significant outflow of capital funds, while the Government found itself barred from foreign capital markets on account of "excessive political risk".

Instead, the authorities acted as good disciplinarians: they did not counter the contracting influence of the major outflow of money through the current account of the balance of payments. This led to an increase in interest rates.

The loss of political confidence among the public further reinforced economic forces: fixed investment declined substantially in real terms, while a major destocking occurred for three years.

The 1981-1982 deterioration in the balance-of-payments position was as bad as the 1975-1976 debacle.

This time, though, political and economic confidence was at its highest since the Sixties, while it has been easy to borrow abroad.

The authorities nevertheless again decided on the disciplinary course: up went interest rates to their highest level yet, while the rand was allowed to weaken rapidly to new lows.

The squeeze thus applied by the authorities did its job well in the real sectors of the economy, lowering fixed-investment spending and inducing a major change in stock purchases, in the process lowering total demand considerably.

This, in turn, led to a major decline in imports and a consequent improvement in the balance of payments.

■ ■ ■

But, whereas under similar circumstances the 1976-1977 recession did not see an actual drop in GDP, this time there has been a major decline in GDP.

The reason for this difference in performance is quite simple.

During the previous recession, exports had started to recover far earlier. At present the international recession has been more prolonged with recovery off to a slow start.

Total demand, which was buoyed by increasing exports in 1977, has actually been reduced further by continuing declines in export volumes in 1981-1982. This process has been reinforced by the drought.

Any reversal of the present economic decline will need to come from a bottoming out of the inventory draw-down, which is likely to continue into next year, and an improvement in export volumes and, hopefully, export prices.

The former is a self-liquidating process, the latter determined by foreign economic-policy makers, consumers and speculators, over whom we have no sway.

For the authorities to stimulate prematurely the economy now that a hard-won internal economic restructuring has been achieved, would be shortsighted.

■ ■ ■

The downside risks remain considerable during the next 18 months: any movement of the gold price below \$400 in the short term may have unpredictable consequences, while another year of drought would be even more disastrous. Inflationary expectations also remain too high.

These considerations may prove a strong inducement for the authorities to maintain a strong disciplinary grip on the economy for the time being despite the deterioration in output and employment that this implies.

Safeguarding the balance of payments and checking inflationary expectations should remain for now the main macro-economic priorities.

GERMAN BANK MAKES PRESENCE FELT IN COUNTRY

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 12 Jun 83 p 6

[Text]

THE Sal Oppenheim Bank of Cologne, one of West Germany's most respected private banks, is making its presence felt in South Africa for the first time.

Baron Alfred von Oppenheim, one of the managing partners, and Paul Porzelt, a senior executive, are on a brief visit to this country.

Their arrival was partly prompted by an invitation to Mr Porzelt to deliver an address to the Simpson, Frankel, Kruger international investment seminar at the Sabi Sabi game reserve last weekend. He produced a wide-ranging overview of the German economy and the stock market.

Apart from attending the seminar, Baron von Oppenheim and Mr Porzelt want to keep in touch with South Africa and develop contacts with the stock-market and investment community.

It is a long-term exercise with an eye to the day when exchange controls for South African institutions are relaxed.

The bank already plays a role in the numerous borrowing operations mounted by South African institutions in Germany, particularly State

bodies like Escom and the SA Transport Services.

Each year it acts as an underwriter for about 200 international bond and syndicated loans launched in Germany.

Oppenheim Bank is a special type of institution. Many South African borrowers do business with Germany's "Big Three" — Deutsche, Dresdner and Commerzbank — which are well known throughout the world, and with other, more regionally oriented banks like Bayerische Hypotheken und Wechsel Bank which also have presences beyond their borders.

■ ■ ■

Oppenheim is a much smaller institution, but its influence and power within European banking circles is not to be underestimated.

For a start, it was founded in 1789 and has been a family bank since.

It maintains a low profile, which is a fairly common feature among certain types of European banks.

But it nevertheless conducts all the main areas of business that the large institutions undertake such as accepting deposits, making loans, investing and manag-

ing money, broking in shares.

The consolidated balance sheet with footings of DM10 000-million (about R4 200-million) is not that indicative of its size. The figures do not include, for instance, its foreign-exchange, stockbroking or trustee business.

It owns a controlling interest in the Colonia Insurance Company, which is the second-largest insurance concern in Germany. This company also claims to be the oldest reinsurance institution in the country, and has an offshoot based in Cape Town.

The bank is run by six equal partners. It is, unusually for these days, an unlimited partnership, and each one is liable to the full extent of his personal assets.

Oppenheim has done well in terms of profits in the past few years. By contrast, the dividends of some big German banks have recently been cut or omitted, a singular upset for any financial institution of standing.

Baron von Oppenheim and his partners sit on the boards of a number of prominent German companies, including the Thyssen steel concern and the KHD engineering group, which invented the diesel engine.

TAIWAN BUSINESSMEN AFFECTED BY APARTHEID

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 12 Jun 83 p 26

[Article by Ivor Wilkins]

[Text]

TAIWANESE businessmen, attracted to South Africa by efforts to encourage foreign investment, are running into apartheid tangles over housing and schooling for their children.

Particularly in the Border area, where several Taiwanese have been attracted to do business in Transkei and Ciskei, there have been frustrating and embarrassing delays over permission to live in white group areas.

The incidents could cause diplomatic tensions between South Africa and the Republic of China — with whom close ties have been nurtured in recent years.

Informed sources say this has been a source of concern for the Decentralisation Board, which has conducted its own inquiries about the snarl-ups.

The MP for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers of the New Republic Party, said in an interview this week he had dealt with several cases of this sort.

Since 1981, when he came to Parliament, he had been

involved in several efforts to overcome group areas problems for Taiwanese.

"In 1981, in answer to a parliamentary question, I was told that residence permits for Taiwanese business people and investors excluded them from the provisions of the Race Classification Act," Mr Rogers said.

"One would have presumed this would also mean the Group Areas Act would not apply to them."

But, three years on, the problems continue.

Mr Rogers said that during this session of Parliament alone he had had to intercede in three cases, one of which was still not satisfactorily concluded.

"This whole issue is causing delays, frustrations and acute embarrassment to business and is damaging the image of the area," Mr Rogers said.

Entangled

It may also end up confounding the Government's efforts to attract investment to the area as part of the economic deconcentration

plan intended to give life to the homeland regions.

"The whole question should be decentralised, so that people on the spot can deal with issues like this quickly and efficiently," said Mr Rogers.

He added that the greatest problems seemed to arise when Taiwanese investors wanted to use Industrial Development Council funds to obtain houses in "white" towns like King William's Town and Queenstown.

It appeared that the IDC then applied to the Department of Community Development for Group Areas Act exemptions, and the two bodies became entangled in bureaucratic contradictions and delays.

The Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze, told the Sunday Times one application which his department had dealt with had been granted to enable a textile company in Dimbaza to arrange accommodation for Taiwanese employees.

"Future applications will also be favourably dealt with when we receive them," he said.

Efforts to obtain comment from the IDC were unsuccessful.

COMMITTEE OF TEN CHAIRMAN SCORES ELECTION 'SHAM'

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 12 Jun 83 p 26

[Article by Charmain Naidoo]

[Text]

BLACK leaders in the PWV-complex have reacted both with scepticism and hope to the Government's proposed September elections for fully fledged local authorities in black townships.

Said the chairman of the Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana: "I will never accept the Government's proposals just as I refused to accept the old idea of Community Councils until there was full autonomy.

"There were fundamental flaws in the scheme with the Government deciding what was right for the black man without consulting him — and the same applies to the local authority proposals."

On the other hand Soweto's Mayor, Mr David Thebali, said he was looking forward to the elections and would encourage people to take part in them because he supported the idea of local authority.

Dr Piet Koornhof this week announced in Parliament that elections for fully fledged local authorities as provided for in the Black Local Authorities Act were

to be held as early as September in Soweto and other black townships in the PWV complex.

"Who is going to finance these municipalities?" Dr Motlana asked.

Revenue

"Until there is an assured way of raising revenue, until we can finance our own local authority without accepting handouts, there can be no autonomous local government."

He said that under the old Community Council scheme the only way of raising money was through dog taxes.

"We need freehold land tenure and rateable property which will generate money and allow us to finance our own municipalities.

"Soweto has no Central Business District and Sowetans are compelled to shop in the Johannesburg CBD.

"Forty-nine percent of the rates in the city are paid by the CBD of Johannesburg. Most of that money is provided by blacks who are

forced to go into town to do their shopping.

Finance

"Therefore, that money really belongs to Soweto and only if it were generated within the township could we finance our own local authority. Until then, the whole idea of a black local authority is a sham."

"The first Community Council elections held in 1977 had a 5.9 percent poll. I predict that there will be even less for the coming elections in September," he said.

Dr Motlana said that he had the support of the Inkhata movement which would back a boycott of the elections.

The chairman of the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Community Council, Mr Joe Tshabalala, said: "The Local Authorities Act has not yet been fully defined and I will not go along with the Minister who calls it 'fully fledged'," he said.

DETAILS ON PEOPLE OF AZANIA MANIFESTO GIVEN

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 17 Jun 83 p 7

[Article by Sam Mabe]

[Text]

SEVERAL political documents have gained the significance of landmarks in the history of black politics in South Africa. Among these were the Freedom Charter and the Committee of Ten's blueprint.

The Manifesto of the People of Azania, adopted at the solidarity conference held in Hammanskraal, makes claims to such significance but history alone will tell. The manifesto will be reviewed when the National Forum Committee (NFC) convenors of the Hammanskraal conference, holds its second indaba in Easter next year. This was announced by Mr Saths Cooper, vice-president of Azapo and a member of the NFC who said that the more than 150 organisations which participated will have had the whole year to critically assess the manifesto.

The manifesto is based on four principles:

- Anti-racism and anti-imperialism;

- Non-collaboration with the oppressor and its political instruments;
- Independent working-class organisation;
- Opposition to all alliances with ruling-class parties.

The Hammanskraal conference decided that it was in accordance with those principles that in its manifesto it demanded the following:

- The right to work;
- The right to form trade unions that will heighten revolutionary worker consciousness;
- The establishment of a democratic, anti-racist worker republic in Azania where the interests of the workers shall be paramount through worker control of the means of production, distribution and exchange;
- State provision of free and compulsory education for all, geared towards liberating the Azanian people from all forms of oppression, ex-

ploitation and ignorance;

- State provision of adequate and decent housing;
- State provision of free health, legal, recreation and other community services that will respond positively to the needs of the people;
- Development of one national progressive culture in the process of struggle;
- The land and all that belongs to it shall be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people;
- The usage of land and all that accrues to it shall be aimed at ending all forms and means of exploitation.

The conference also pledged to "struggle tirelessly" for the abolition of all laws that discriminate on the basis of sex, colour, religion or language and the re-integration of the "bantustan human dump" into a unitary Azania.

DUNCAN VILLAGE TO BE 'DISESTABLISHED'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Jun 83 p 2

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — The Government yesterday announced it would stick to its previous decision that Duncan Village, near East London, would be "disestablished" and its Black inhabitants rehoused in Mdantsane with the full co-operation of the Community Council and the Ciskei Government.

In a joint statement issued in Cape Town the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof and the Deputy Minister of Co-operation, Dr G Morrison, said the rehoused inhabitants would retain their employment rights in East London in terms of the existing agreement between the South African and Ciskei governments.

"The area will be systematically disestablished as and when accommodation becomes available in Mdantsane."

According to the statement, conditions in "Duncan Village proper" had deteriorated to such an extent that growing health and social problems developed, "not only for the Duncan Village inhabitants but for East London as a whole," in spite of determined steps undertaken by the East Cape Administration Board and other bodies.

The government had resolved to take the step of "disestablishing" the village after repeated requests from the Community Council and a thorough investigation and with the concurrence of all the interested bodies.

"Because of economic and other practical considerations the Government has decided that the portion of the Black residential area known as Zimpunzana adjacent to Duncan Village shall be re-

tained and upgraded on the following conditions:

- The Community Council accepts that the area, after the definition of the boundaries, be frozen and no further expansion be permitted;
- the area be re-planned with the view to attaining the highest possible density within the framework of the planning norms as laid down by the department;
- the inhabitants accept the application of economic tariffs and the Government relax such tariffs only in cases prescribed by regulation;
- the Group Areas Board finalise the boundaries while adhering to the establishment of proper buffer zones after due consultation with interested parties; and
- no unauthorised squatting be permitted and that the Community Council undertakes to effect proper control to this end. — Sapa.

AFRIKANERS ENGAGED IN 'IDEOLOGICAL WAR'

Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 13 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by Johann Potgieter]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN — The ideological war between Nationalists and Conservatives in the inner circles of Afrikanerdom is poised on a "fine equilibrium", with dramatic developments likely this year.

This was the opinion today of well-placed sources, following revelations at the weekend that the once-powerful Suid-Afrikaanse Buro vir Rasse-Aangeleenthede (Sabra), had drafted a report sharply critical of the Government's "healthy power-sharing" constitution.

They dismissed the Sabra report as "insignificant" since the body now had a "very low priority" in the spectrum of organisations that made up Nationalist Afrikanerdom.

And they warned, instead, that the greatest potential coup for the far-Right still lay dormant in the Ruiterswag — the "junior Broederbond" — and could badly shake the NP

hold on a major block of young Afrikaner intellectuals.

This hidden battle is of vital significance to all South Africans, since it will determine the pace and direction in which the Government moves on all fronts.

The Sabra report — which will be discussed by the body's council on Friday — dismisses the Government's draft constitution as a "ludicrous attempt" which will not resolve conflict, but will instead stimulate conflict.

It has been strongly attacked by a wide range of Nationalist newspapers on the grounds that it echoes Conservative Party terms and ideas.

Of much greater importance than Sabra is the influential Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK), and here, according to sources, politically divided Afrikanerdom still retained a sem-

blance of cultural unity.

Its chairman, Professor Gawie Cillie, said today the FAK would concentrate on cultural unity rather than political division.

But the Ruiterswag, of all the politico-cultural organisations, was, the sources said, closest to an alignment with the CP, and this could have far-reaching consequences for the NP.

"The possibility is real that the Ruiterswag could shake the NP within the next six to seven months," said a source.

In the other bodies, sources said, the dangers of an even sharper break in the body of Afrikanerdom, was being discussed in "very serious debate" and could go either way.

Among the bodies concerned are the Broederbond, Rapportryerskorps, Voortrekkers, Afrikaanse Studentebond, Vrouefederasie, Afrikaanse Christen Vroue Vereniging and the Afrikaans Taal en Kultuurvereniging.

INCREASE IN IMMIGRANTS REPORTED

Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 14 Jun 83 p 2

[Text]

THE number of immigrants to South Africa has increased significantly in the past two years, with the country experiencing a net gain for all occupational groups.

However, those from the group "not economically active" constitute more than 50% of the total.

This was evident from statistics furnished by Central Statistical Services in Pretoria for the period from January to September last year compared with the same period in 1981.

The information shows interesting migration trends, with South Africa receiving a net gain of 30 636 immigrants last year — an big increase over the 23 972 recorded in 1981.

A total of 36 036 people settled in South Africa while 5 400 people left the country in 1982, compared with 30 382 immigrants and 6 910 emigrants in 1981.

Trends showed an increase in the number of immigrants for all occupational groups, with marked increases in the categories of administrative and man-

agerial workers, clerical and related workers and people without jobs.

The country experienced a net gain of 3 787 professional, technical and related immigrants last year compared with a net gain of 2 261 in 1981.

The administrative and managerial workers showed a net gain of 829 immigrants in 1982 compared with 625 in 1981.

The gain of immigrant clerical and related workers was 2 221 for 1982 and 1 734 for 1981. South Africa brought in 15 830 immigrants "not economically active" compared with 13 846 for 1981.

● The statistics show a decline in the number of people visiting South Africa and the number of departures for visits abroad.

A total of 886 364 people visited South Africa last year compared with 923 183 for 1981, while 858 086 people left South Africa for business, holiday or study visits overseas in 1982 compared with 912 158 the year before.

ARMSCOR FACES HURDLES IN EXPORT DRIVE

Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 18 Jun 83 p 11

[Article by Willem Steenkamp]

[Text]

HAVING a good product to sell is part of the secret of commercial success. The rest of the secret is to find the right customers — and when Armscor starts pushing out into the world arms trade, it will have to live with the fact that this is likely to be one of its main problems.

Another problem is that many arms purchases by smaller nations are tied to military aid programmes. It is not unusual for a smaller country to be given credit or cash for arms purchases as long as it buys the products of the country which loaned it the money in the first place.

In addition, the Armscor salesmen will have to bear two other burdens peculiar to their situation.

It is a fact that South Africa is an outcast in the literal sense of the word. It has been banned or expelled by most world organizations, no country is willing to sign a military treaty with it in spite of compelling reasons to do so, and many governments are not willing to buy weapons of war from it.

This state of affairs will have a strong bearing on the question of what Armscor will sell and to whom. What might be called the "invisibility factor" is likely to play a leading role in this regard.

Distinctively South African-produced items like armoured and mine-protected vehicles and the G-56 artillery pieces might be hard to dispose of, although no doubt ways could be found around this obstacle. At least one overseas arms magazine has carried a Belgian-based firm's advertisement for an infantry fighting vehicle which looks surprisingly like the Ratel, and Armscor sources are sanguine about the chances of making at least some such deals.

However, it is likely Armscor's salesmen will also think small rather than be over-ambitious, and will concentrate on the invisible and relatively cheap items.

Nations who are sensitive about anti-apartheid pressure but with money to spend would probably be most interested in the "invisible" or low-profile items like the Kukri air-to-air guided missile, which is

designed for use on Mirage jet fighters, and electronic equipment.

The Kukri has great sales potential if it is as good as has been claimed, since various marks of Mirage are used widely by many Third World countries.

Poorer nations, or those committed to buying heavy equipment elsewhere in terms of a military aid agreement, would probably be a good market for relatively low-cost, low-technology items such as:

- **The 127mm Valkiri rocket.** The launcher is probably not as important as the missile itself, which has a maximum range of 22.5km and is said to be better aimed and more lethal than the equivalent Russian BM-21.

- **Frequency-hopping devices.** These devices make it almost impossible to monitor battle-field radio transmissions in time to take suitable action.

- **Nightsights for rifles.** Armies all over the world are making increasing use of poor-visibility sights and Armscor claims to have developed one of the best nightsights in the world.

- **Rifles, mortars and**

other small arms. Armscor produces the 5.56mm-calibre R4 assault rifle, similar to the highly-regarded Israeli Galil.

- **Small arms ammunition.** Armscor produces a wide range of ammunition, hand-grenades, flares, mortar-bombs and similar munitions, all battle-tested.

- **Samil basic chassis.** They are of recent design and thoroughly tested.

- **Field kitchens.** Armscor is said to have done a thriving trade in these mobile cooker units already.

- **Kits for updating existing weaponry such as Mirages, Impalas and Centurions.** Recent updating and battle-testing has provided Armscor with great experience in rejuvenating and improving some items of existing equipment.

Payment, of course, need not necessarily be in money. Perhaps South Africa would be willing to take payment in kind rather than in cash — a tankerful of oil for a shipload of arms, say? The Russians have been doing this for years, which is why prawns are no longer the poor man's food in Mozambique.

NATIONAL FORUM SEEN AS FIRST STEP TOWARDS UNITY

Johannesburg: RAND DAILY MAIL in English 14 Jun 83 p 7

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text]

THE National Forum Committee, convenors of the two-day conference at Hammanskraal attended by some 200 black organisations, undoubtedly succeeded in its primary aim of promoting closer working relations between black movements operating outside Government-approved institutions.

The conference — or national forum — ended with the unanimous adoption by about 800 delegates of the "Manifesto of the Azanian People" as a unifying and over-arching declaration of objectives.

Mr Lybon Mabasa, president of the Azanian People's Organisation and a member of the National Forum Committee, said yesterday that it was endorsed by at least some members of movements subscribing to the Freedom Charter.

It was a broad, narrow definition, embracing black consciousness movements and the Charterists.

Those who voted for the manifesto included members of the South African Allied Workers' Union, the General and Allied Workers' Union, the Congress of South African Students — all strongly Charterist in outlook — as well as "leading personalities" of the United Democratic Front, Mr Mabasa said.

Formed last month, the United Democratic Front is an umbrella organisation of 25 organisations, most of which subscribe to the Freedom Charter, which was originally adopted by the Congress Alliance in June 1955.

The now outlawed African National Congress was a member of the Congress Alliance, as was the recently revived Transvaal Indian Congress, which played a leading role in the formation of the United Democratic Front.

A factor which will unquestionably work strongly to promote close links between black consciousness organisations — of which Azapo is perhaps the foremost exponent — and the Charterists are those movements which members of the United Democratic Front.

They include the Council of Unions of South Africa, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union and the Soweto Civic Association.

Leading members of these movements — Mr Phiroshaw Camay, of Cusa, Mrs Emma Mashinini, of the CCAWU, and Mr Tom Manthata, of the SCA — are all members of the National Forum Committee.

In addition there is the influence of men such as Bishop Desmond Tutu, of the Council of Churches, who have already urged blacks to forget their ideological differences

and work together on a common programme of agreed objectives.

Bishop Tutu, a member of the National Forum Committee, was a keynote speaker at the national forum.

A point of ideological convergence between the two camps is that the "national liberation" struggle is not merely against apartheid and race discrimination but also against capitalism as the perceived primary cause of oppression of blacks.

Few Charterists would quarrel with the opening sentences of the manifesto.

"Our struggle for national liberation is directed against the system of racial capitalism, which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of a small minority of white capitalists and their allies, the white workers and the reactionary sections of the black middle class," the manifesto declared.

"The struggle against apartheid is no more than a point of departure for our liberation efforts. Apartheid will be eradicated with the system of racial capitalism."

The same point was made strongly by Mr Letsatsi Mosala, of the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union, when discussion was opened to the general conference.

He was replying to a delegate from the floor who wanted to know whether the struggle was a national struggle against racial oppression or a workers' struggle against class oppression?

Mr Mosala replied that it was both: "In South Africa there is national oppression, but there is also economic oppression. The two cannot be separated. They go hand in hand."

In Lesotho and Malawi, he said, the national struggle had been successful and black governments had come to power... but the plight of the workers had not improved, because the struggle had not been pursued on the class front.

Mr Mosala added: "We are not fighting to put a Leabua Jonathan or a Hastings Banda into power. We are fighting to put the black working class into power."

Where the two camps once adopted sharply contrasting stances on the role of "progressive whites" — with Charterists being willing to open their ranks to white radicals and black consciousness cadres rebuffing them as opportunists trying to hijack the black cause — it was clear from debate at the weekend that the gap had narrowed markedly.

The distinguished scholar and former Robben Island

prisoner, Dr Neville Alexander, spoke quietly but forcefully against automatic exclusion of whites.

He told the conference: "There are many people among the whites who are committed to the ideal of liberation and who are prepared to make sacrifices.

"They must be allowed to play a part in the struggle, but the leadership of the struggle must remain with the black working class."

Another delegate, Mr Imran Moosa, defined blackness as a state of mind: a state of mind possessed, he said, by men like Dr Neil Aggett, the white trade union leader who died in detention, but not by the deviant class of blacks, the "non-whites," which collaborated with the ruling whites.

But there are, of course, still points of differences between two camps.

One of them was highlighted in a paper delivered at the weekend conference by Dr Neville Alexander.

It was obvious that many, if not most, delegates were unhappy with the revival of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

They saw it as an "ethnic organisation" and accused it

of perpetuating "outdated and divisive ethnic structures".

In his address, Dr Alexander quoted from a speech presented by Mr Zak Yacoob, of the Natal Indian Congress, at the May 1 meeting in Lenasia at which the Transvaal Indian Congress was relaunched.

Defending the recognition accorded to "national groups" in the Freedom Charter, Mr Yacoob said: "That there are Indians, coloured, Africans and whites (national groups) in the country is a self-evident and undeniable reality ...

"Our task is to heighten the positive features of each national group and to weld these together so that there arises out of this process of organisation a single national consciousness."

Dr Alexander commented: "Without debating the point any further, let me say that this is the classical position of ethnic theory."

He was levelling a serious charge, because he had earlier identified the "theory of ethnicity" as one which had replaced the ideology of race after racism had fallen into disrepute because of Nazism.

But, Dr Alexander continued, the theory of ethnicity

was a superior instrument of policy to racial theory for South Africa's ruling class, because it could be used to "justify even greater fragmentation of the working people whose unity held within itself the message of doom for the capitalist-apartheid system".

Referring to Mr Yacoob's statement, Dr Alexander said: "The danger inherent in this kind of talk is quite simply that it makes room in theory and in practice for the preaching of ethnic separatism ...

" 'Ethnic' or 'national' group approaches are the thin edge of the wedge for separatist movements and civil wars ..."

On the idea of establishing separate organisations for each of the "national groups," and then linking these organisations in an overall alliance along the lines of the Congress Alliance of the 1950s, Dr Alexander said:

"It is a reactionary, not a progressive, policy from the point of view of the liberation movement taken as a whole. Imagine us advocating 'Indian,' 'Coloured' and 'African' trade unions or student unions today."

He added: "Middle class and aspiring bourgeois elements quickly seize control of

such colour-based ethnic organisations and use them as power bases from which they try to bargain for a larger share of the economic cake."

Honing his attack to a fine point, he concluded: "This is essentially the kind of thing that the bantustan leaders and the bantustan middle classes are doing today."

As a scholar with a fine brain, a man who has served 10 years on Robben Island and a member of the National Forum Committee, Dr Alexander is held in great esteem by many supporters of the manifesto.

His criticism of the Transvaal Indian Congress constitutes a major point of difference, which will require a great deal of discussion and give and take on both sides if it is to be resolved amicably.

The more so because the Transvaal Indian Congress contends that it retained the label "Indian" in its title for historic reasons but that its membership is open to all races.

The Transvaal Indian Congress can point to a precedent for its decision: when the banned African National Congress opened its membership to all races in 1969 it, too, retained the "ethnic" label African in its title for historic reasons.

COLUMNIST REPORTS RECENT LABOR ACTIVITIES

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 13 Jun 83 p 7

["Labour Week" Column by Steven Friedman]

[Text]

THE Trade Union Council of SA continues to carve out an ideological niche somewhat to the Right of most major employer bodies.

Tucsa's ongoing war against its own credibility among black workers took a new turn last week when its president, Dr Anna Schoepers, called for stepped-up prosecutions of "illegal" strikers.

There have only been two legal strikes in the past six years, so this means almost all strikers.

Dr Schoepers told the Financial Mail: "If you have laws, they must be enforced. If people do wrong, they must accept the consequences". She also opined that strikes might frighten off foreign investors.

Her clarion call comes at a time when employer bodies are urging the scrapping of laws making it a crime to strike, which would bring this country in line with free labour systems in the West.

Tucsa is not the first union body to call for tough action against workers — they do it in Russia all the time.

But it is worth speculating how many black supporters Tucsa would have if many of its unions did not enjoy "closed shop" agreements with employers forcing black workers to belong.

□□□

UNIONS are still dissatisfied with the Unemployment Insurance Fund rights of migrants from "independent" homelands.

Strike-watchers may recall worker unrest in East London 18 months ago over the removal of workers from the UIF following Ciskei "independence".

It was this that prompted the Government to amend the law which took migrant citizens of all "independent" homelands off the UIF.

In terms of the new system, which came into force last month, these migrants will again contribute to the UIF — but their money will be transferred to separate UIFs in the "independent" territories.

Doubts have been raised about how these funds will be administered.

Now comes the news that East London unions have called on employers not to deduct UIF money on behalf of workers until this system has been "clarified".

Vaal unions met at the weekend to discuss a similar call.

All this sounds just like the calls for the withdrawal of pension money which led to the 1981 pension strikes.

All this may come to nothing, but may well prompt some employer anxiety.

□□□

THE fate of the landmark Rikhotso judgment seems to be in limbo.

The Government is delaying a decision on whether to nullify the ruling, while seemingly allowing Administration Boards to delay granting workers rights.

In the meanwhile, unions are pressing ahead with attempts to submit applications for rights on their members' behalf and shop stewards are approaching employers and asking them to assist these workers.

A wide range of leading businessmen, as well as Western governments, have rallied behind the judgment.

A study by UCT economist Mr Charles Simkins has also revealed that Government warnings about the 1 500 000-strong black "flood" which would enter cities if the ruling is upheld, are grossly overstated.

One thing is clear, however: If the Government does nullify the judgment, it will meet sharp reaction — whenever it does so.

□□□

THE National Union of Mineworkers has now won recognition on the mines and the industry's new bargaining era is set to commence.

In fact, it will commence today as the NUM and the Chamber of Mines sit down to bargain on wages.

The NUM will release its demands today or tomorrow, so providing a key pointer on how heated the talks will be.

The signs are that it and the Chamber will be far apart. And, as the mines' black increase usually comes into effect on July 1, the Chamber has told NUM that the negotiations must be over by Friday.

Winning agreement in a week should be difficult, to say the least.

□□□

STRIKE action may be on the increase again.

About half a dozen strikes were reported in the Reef area alone over the past week. Interestingly, several were on the East Rand and concerned firings.

Is this merely a hiccup — or a sign that the recession is still doing little to damp worker militancy?

□□□

IS fear of retrenchment persuading some white workers to join mainly black unions?

Bizarre as this may sound in this country, workers at a couple of plants have recently sought to do just that.

At Kellogg in Springs, white workers recently approached Fosatu's Sweet, Food and Allied Workers Union asking to join. They were asked to demonstrate bona fides by signing a petition black workers had compiled on a work dispute, and did so.

And, at another East Rand plant, a Fosatu union which recently won a dispute with the company on retrenchments was also approached by white workers.

They said they wanted to join because "you don't get fired easily if you belong to the black union".

Another (alleged) example came last week when the Metal and Allied Workers Union claimed white workers had joined a retrenchment strike at Krost Brothers' Cleveland plant. Management denies this.

Shop-floor race barriers are not about to come crashing down, and incidents like that at Kellogg will probably be isolated at most.

But there seem to be plants where inter-racial worker co-operation may be more attainable than most observers believe.

CSO: 3400/1574

SURVEY SHOWS ASBESTOS PROSPECTS BULLISH

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 10 Jun 83 p 7M

[Text]

A Johannesburg broking firm reports good international asbestos market prospects, in line with a Western economic recovery. It also urges South African producers to watch for any market opening left by the ailing Canadian industry.

Financial Staff

A leading firm of Johannesburg stock-brokers has taken a bullish view of the international asbestos market, with expectations of demand increasing in step with a recovery in the Western economy.

A survey by Simpson, Frankel, Kruger Incorporated says the asbestos industry has coped well with the considerable pressures imposed upon it following the health controversy — one they believe to have been unfair in that it was based on incomplete understanding of the problems involved.

The unique properties of asbestos as well as the cost and difficulty of substitution, growing medical evidence in its favour and the success of the industry in meeting criticism will combine to arrest declining consumption in the West, the survey reports.

BANNED

A rehabilitation of asbestos will be no easy matter, the survey acknowledges.

Several countries in Europe have either banned or severely curtailed its use. Among these are the UK, Sweden, Denmark and Holland, with Germany being the latest to move towards reduced usage.

From evidence presented it would seem the more bullish view for consumption prospects is that costs of substitution and potential health hazards

among the substitutes "may yet give producers time to get the message across to the particularly environmentally conscious consumption areas, namely the US and Western Europe, that if asbestos is properly handled and strict health and safety measures are adopted it does not pose a threat to health."

The survey suggests that the pressure for substitution may gradually fade as public awareness of the effectiveness of the stringent safety measures adopted by the asbestos industry grows; and the failure of competitive materials to match it in either physical properties or cost effectiveness becomes more apparent.

The 14 percent reduction in world output of asbestos in 1982 is seen as a reflection of weak demand rather a shortage of available ore.

Identified world ore reserves amounted to 200 million tons, enough for 50 years at present production rates.

The three largest producing countries, Canada, Zimbabwe and South Africa, are all operating at about 50 percent capacity.

Although asbestos producers could look for a modest improvement in demand from industrialised countries in the northern hemisphere they would have to look elsewhere for medium to long-term growth.

The Soviet Union was the biggest producer in the world last year. Communist countries accounted for 50 percent of world output, a fact which appeared to be recognised by the US in its stockpiling programme.

South African producers should closely follow the trends and developments of the Canadian industry, dominant non-communist producer.

The Canadian industry was not on the verge of collapse but was beset by uncertainty and rising costs.

This suggested that the country's asbestos could become less competitive on world markets and that overall production could decline significantly,

providing scope for greater penetration by South African producers.

The South African industry stood on the threshold of a new era of growth as expected world recovery and housing demands of rapidly expanding populations of the Third World reversed the five-year trend of declining sales and production.

The brokers' recommendation to locally listed companies in the asbestos industry was that Gefco should hold or switch and Msauli should buy.

Gefco has appreciated by about 185 percent from a 1981 low of 130c.

While reasonable growth prospects are still available, Msauli offered more in the medium term, the survey says.

CSO: 3400/1574

TREASURY'S STOCK ISSUE ATTRACTS STAGGERING RESPONSE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 11 Jun 83 p 11

[Article by Trevor Walker]

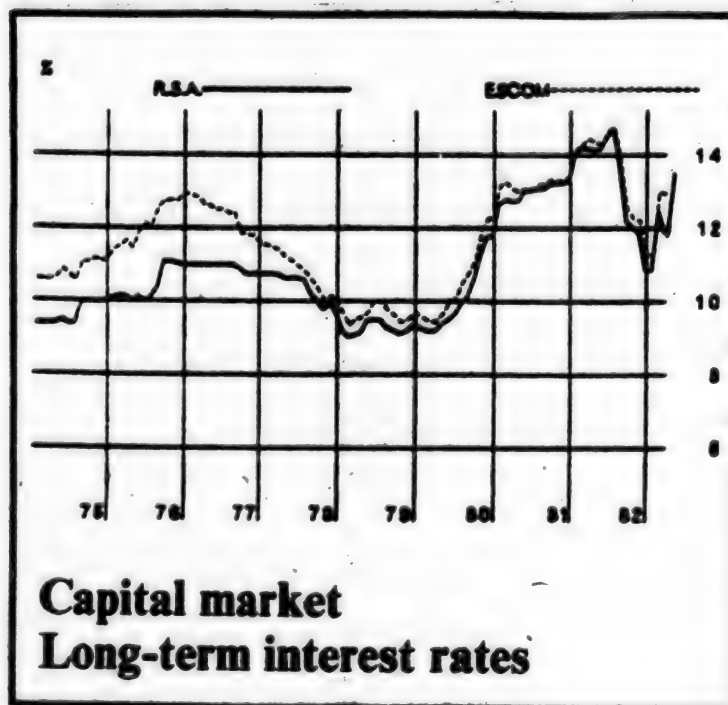
[Text]

The R300 million Treasury stock issue attracted a staggering R875,3 million and tenders have been allotted at average prices well above market rates.

The Treasury said in a statement yesterday that it had received applications for R286 million on the short 1986 stock, and R150 million had been allotted at an average rate of 12,11 percent.

The 1997 stock attracted R500 million, and R150 million was allotted at 13,72 percent.

Money dealers said the rates on the short-end were nearly 1,5 percent points up on similar stock yesterday, and the long-dated stock issued at 13,72 percent compared with the 13,30 percent trading in the market.



Most applicants must be very happy with the outcome. Those who came in at the top end of the tender cut-off of 12.50 percent on the short and 12.98 percent on the long must be very happy indeed.

Obviously there was not R300 million seeking the 1997 stock, but operators going for the tender were merely speculating on a favourable outcome.

They said the result of the tender was likely to have an immediate impact on the prime rate which will probably move one percentage point higher to 16 percent next week.

Together with the weekly Treasury Bill tender where R30 million was allotted the authorities have taken R300 million out of the market in one day. The discount houses three months BA rate was set at 13.9 percent compared to 12.98 percent the previous week.

One dealer said he believed rates, particularly on the long end, have peaked now and that this defensive issue by the Treasury will see rates hold on this new plateau.

Rates might hiccup when Prime is raised, but the long-dated stock appears to have moved to attractive levels now.

If anything long-term stock could be expected to fall, while the move on the short-end was quite surprising. The move to a new high on the short-end must be a temporary aberration as nothing has changed in the economy.

The gold price has moved slightly higher today and the economy is still in the middle of a downswing.

CSO: 3400/1574

WEAPONS-PROCUREMENT ROLE OF ARMSCOR DISCUSSED

Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 15 Jun 83 p 7

[Article by Willem Steenkamp]

[Text]

THE Armaments Corporation is the South African government's only weapons-procurement organization. "Procurement" covers a multitude of meanings in this regard. Buying is one facet, but even more important is renewal of existing assets and designing of new weaponry and equipment for the future.

At the moment Armscor's procurement policy is based on three legs:

- Updating, upgrading, improving and adapting designs already in service. Armscor has made extensive use of this approach because for obvious reasons it yields quick results and is cost-effective.

Olifant

A case in point is the Olifant battle tank. Its arrival on the military scene was greeted with some scepticism, as it looked little different from the familiar old Centurion the SADF had been using the 1950s.

According to Armscor officials, however, almost all that remains of the original Centurion is the hull and turret shell. It has been up-

gunned, re-engined and equipped with better gunlaying equipment and an upgraded transmission, drive and suspension.

The result: A vehicle which retains the Centurion's well-known capacity for absorbing punishment, but is faster, has a greater range, breaks down less easily and can fire larger shells more accurately.

Local needs

- Designing new units for specific local requirements and according to Armscor's manufacturing capabilities.

Prominent examples of these are the Ratel-20 infantry fighting vehicle and the Buffel and Bulldog mine-protected counter-insurgency vehicles.

The basic Ratel design has now been expanded into a series, presently including a tank-destroyer, a command vehicle and a logistics vehicle.

The Ratel has been thoroughly battle-tested and, Armscor officials add, "the Army says (it) is extremely reliable. (Ratels) are basically the only combat-proven

IFVs which exist in this (wheeled) configuration in the world".

'B vehicles'

- Rationalization, standardization, simplification and consolidation.

So far it has manufactured 10 000 of what the SADF calls "B vehicles" — soft-skinned utility vehicles of various sizes and configurations, ranging from lorries to pantry vans.

There are two manufacturing streams — the "Samil" range of military chassis and the basically similar commercial "Sacom" range. Both have a high proportion of interchangeable parts, which makes for lower production costs.

The principle of commonality also applies to vehicles of the Ratel "family", all members of which use a large proportion of common components.

The Samil range of chassis are also used for other purposes — for instance, the new Bulldog mine-protected vehicle is built on one.

Armourplate

Armscor officials say their corporation is also able to produce armour-

plate and armoured glass of European and American standards.

This is a matter of cardinal importance in an era in which the effectiveness of small, hand-held weapons is increasing almost by the day. The infantryman, still the basis of any ground fighting, is no longer as helpless against armoured vehicles as he was during World War II.

Armscor also its own version of the ceramic armour which is now the rage overseas because it dissipates the force of the weaker anti-tank weapons.

Tracked vehicles

Tanks are not the only tracked vehicles in the Armscor armoury. Others such as recovery vehicles, repair and maintenance vehicles and bridge-laying vehicles are also being turned out. Not much is known about them, but they are probably based on Centurion/Olifant chassis and hulls, and possibly older ones.

In the meantime, research and development continues apace. According to officials "about 75 percent of our brainpower is used in

developing weapons for the future — aiming at designing a new generation of weapons”.

The first such vehicle the SADF is likely to see is an armoured car with improved mobility, reliability, protection and firepower — but designers are not neglecting heavier armour that will replace or supplement the Olifants.

Tank obsolete?

Like their colleagues elsewhere, Armscor's designers have concluded that the battle tank is not yet obsolete in spite of premature obituaries after heavy Israeli losses during the 1973 Yom Kippur War, partly as a result of incorrect battle-handling and the use of improved small anti-armour weapons like the RPG-7.

It is a firm government belief that there is a possibility the country might be involved in a conventional war in the next five years, and in such an event there is no substitute for heavy armour.

'1990's'

What it amounts to is not just the need for heavier weaponry but also the ability to absorb punishment without being crippled.

“We believe we can live with the upgraded Centurion till the 1990s,” say officials. “But then we have to put our own indigenous tanks on the ground”.

But the new tank and armoured car are still in the future. What of the present, and Armscor's plunge into the weapons trade in weapons of war? It is a cut-throat business (no pun intended), governed by hard realities.

CSO: 3400/1574

BLACKS EXCLUDED FROM COORDINATING COUNCIL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Jun 83 p 4

[Text]

AN AMENDMENT calling for the inclusion of Black local authorities on a council being set up to co-ordinate affairs between White, Coloured and Indian local authorities was disallowed yesterday.

The Deputy Chairman of Committees, Mr Val Volker, said he could not accept the amendment, moved by Mr Colin Eglin (PFP, Sea Point) in the committee stage debate on the Promotion of Local Government Affairs Bill, because it was in conflict with the principles of the Bill as read a second time.

Mr Eglin said his party was disturbed because the Bill's terms of reference excluded Black local authorities. Only last year the Assembly had passed the Black Local Authorities Bill and elections for Black local authorities were to be held later this year, yet matters relating to Black local government were excluded from the co-ordinating council's terms of reference.

Clause One of the Bill made it impossible for the council — being established to co-ordinate functions of general interest to local authorities and functions of national interest — to make recommendations other than in respect of Coloured, Indian and White local government.

The President's Council had recommended that at regional level there should be co-ordination of Black, Coloured, White and Indian government.

In terms of the present Bill, however, Blacks were being excluded from the co-ordination process.

"The terms of reference of this council should include Black local authorities as set up under the Government's own Black Local Authorities Act of 1982," Mr Eglin said.

After Mr Volker refused to accept Mr Eglin's amendment, Mr Alf Widman, a PFP whip, rose on a point of order and said his party had not understood from the second reading debate that the principles of the Bill excluded Black local authorities.

Mr Volker replied: "The whole principle of the Bill as debated and widely discussed by members of this House did not make provision for the inclusion of Black local authorities as read a second time. In terms of the whole tone and content of the debate on the second reading no provision is made for inclusion of Black local authorities. Therefore I have no alternative but not to accept the amendment."

Mr Widman was then told that any further argument relating to Black local authorities would not be permitted in the Bill's committee stage.

CSO: 3400/1574

BLACK UNITY TALKS REVEAL GAPS OF DISSENSION

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Jun 83 p 7

[Article by Jon Qwelane]

[Text]

Black unity, or disunity, was highlighted at Hammanakraal at the weekend when more than 170 black organisations conferred.

The participants comprised representatives of political groups, trade unions, sporting and student organisations, lawyers, academic, civic and church bodies, and domestic workers' groups.

The single important factor about the conference — dubbed a national forum — was that differences expressed were not between organisations working "within the system" and those working outside it, but between organisations united under the umbrella of the Black Consciousness philosophy.

That there are differences between groups on strategy and policy — on the very interpretation of the Black Consciousness ideology — has been evident for some time.

Two years ago, during a service the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto to commemorate the uprisings in June 1976, matters came to a head when speakers from the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) were apparently excluded from addressing the crowds by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which had convened the gathering.

The students took umbrage by the general secretary of the SACC, Bishop Desmond Tutu, who appealed for calm between the students and Azapo.

Again, when the Sharpeville shootings were commemorated at Dube YWCA in Soweto in March, speakers under the Black Consciousness banner criticised "charterists". They said that, unlike the "charterists", Azapo's policy was not directed from plush suburbs like Lower Houghton. This was intended as a criticism of those black groups willing to work with white liberals.

The label "charterists" has sneeringly been applied to those groups which have declared that

they accept the Freedom Charter, adopted 28 years ago by, among others, the outlawed African National Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats (whites), and the Coloured People's Congress.

The situation was saved in time

CO-OPERATION

The "charterists" refer to themselves as "progressive forces of the liberation struggle", and advocate co-operation with those whites committed to dismantling apartheid.

On the other hand, Azapo and the staunch adherents of Black Consciousness hold that while their movement is pro-black, it

is not necessarily anti-anybody — and if co-operation with whites cannot be avoided, it must be kept at a minimum.

Azapo is the eminent exponent of Black Consciousness still operating legally inside South Africa.

TWO CLASSES

The fundamental pillar of Black Consciousness is that in the South African context there are two classes of people: the oppressor and the oppressed.

The oppressed and exploited are the disenfranchised, and can therefore not join hands with whites — no matter how sincere those whites may be.

That is the crux of the differences among the organisations which met in Hammanskraal.

At the end of the talks it was agreed unanimously that the

only way to fight apartheid was by presenting a united front.

In his address, Bishop Tutu emphasised to delegates that they had to be like the fingers of a hand.

"Outspread, those fingers can be easily broken, but clenched into a fist they are very difficult to break."

CSO: 3400/1574

BLACKS' LOCAL AFFAIRS ROLE REMAINS UNSOLVED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Jun 83 p 19

[Article by Marilyn Cohen]

[Text]

URBAN Black communities cannot be accommodated on the same basis as Whites, Coloureds and Indians within the Government's proposed new dispensation for local authorities, the Director of Constitutional Development, Mr L D Dekker, said yesterday.

Speaking at the Institute of Town Clerks conference in Port Elizabeth, he said the way in which

overlapping interests of Black local communities and other neighbouring communities could be prompted in a co-ordinated manner "needs further thinking."

While it was clear that Black communities could not be accommodated on the same basis as those of the other race groups, "it is also clear that they will have to be accommodated in some way or other."

A basic principle of the Government's constitutional guidelines was that provision should be made

for co-responsibility among all groups in matters of common interest.

"Their 'own' local government institutions through which the various groups (White, Coloured and Indian) can exercise self determination over their own affairs will simultaneously serve as a basis from which they co-operate as equals in matters of common concern," he said.

On the metropolitan level in the more densely populated urban areas and on regional level in

the rural areas, circumstances dictated that certain municipal services be provided on a joint basis.

For this purpose, bodies would have to be established on which the various local authorities (for Whites, Coloureds and Indians) would be represented. Black communities would be excluded from these bodies and "further thinking" would be needed to find ways to accommodate these Black communities "in some way or other."

'New Controls Needed' over Urban Government

Alternative forms of control over local authorities will have to be implemented to ensure that when the new constitutional dispensation comes into effect, local decisions will be taken "with due cognisance of the broad national interest".

This was said yesterday by the director of constitutional development, Mr L D Dekker at the Institute of Town Clerks conference in Port Elizabeth.

Speaking on the future of municipal government in the new constitutional dispensation, Mr Dekker said the principle of minimum administrative control over local authorities was accepted.

Also accepted was the principle of maximum devolution of power and decentralisation of administration at local government level so "that the greatest possible degree of self-determination within 'own' group results on

the local level was assured" and that the political "stress" on the central level of government was reduced.

However, in order to ensure "order and stability" in the introduction of reform on local government level, the government "accepts that there is a need for effective co-ordination on the central level." This co-ordination would be the responsibility of the Department of Constitutional development and planning.

"Alternative forms of control over local authorities will have to be implemented to ensure orderly government and effective administration," Mr Dekker said.

"A balance will have to be found between local autonomy and national interest to ensure that local decisions are taken with due cognisance of the broad national interest."

INDIAN WOMEN POLICE SCHEDULED TO GRADUATE

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 6 Jun 83 p 9

[Excerpts]

THE INDIAN women's corps of the South African Police is a year old.

This month the second batch of 18 trainee policewomen will leave their training college after their six-month course. They will then join 16 of their colleagues who made up the first intake of this wing of the police force and are now doing regular duty.

Soon they will come into contact with the public with all the practical problems of law enforcement.

But obvious unpopularity with some sections of the community is not the only thing they will have to put up with. Chief instructor and head of this division, Warrant Officer Indera Chetty, told The Daily News.

This petite and pleasant mother of two who, a year ago, was a "schoolmarm," believes

much of the distrust is caused mainly by unreasoned prejudice.

"We believe our critics ought to discard some of their notions about the force. We see the force as a career in serving our country," Warrant Officer Chetty said.

Speaking from her office in Cato Manor overlooking the campus of the University of Natal, she discussed the six-month training course a prospective policewoman has to undergo.

"Enthusiasm for and interest in the career far exceeded expectations and the capacity of the force to meet the demand. The college received more than 100 applicants this year, but we could take in only 18."

The girls start at 5 am.

The day is divided between academic work and physical training.

"Half the syllabus is devoted to studying law subjects, how to investigate crime, administration and police science. The rest of is taken up with physical training, anti-riot preparedness and so on."

Two hours a day are given over to compulsory private study.

The girls are also trained in musketry and when they qualify each one is issued with a firearm.

They are allowed visitors at weekends and games and home movies make up much of their leisure time.

In spite of all the challenges, Warrant Officer Chetty is confident her charges will acquit themselves creditably.

Their passing-out parade, which is open to the public, will be held on June 29 at the King's Park rugby stadium at 10 am.

CSO: 3400/1574

AGGETT CASE SHOWS OFFICIAL PROBE MISLED, SAY LAWYERS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Jun 83 p 7

[Article by Lynne Cornfield]

[Text]

The Rabie Commission was misled on fundamental matters in its inquiry, and the subsequent directives issued by the Minister of Law and Order for the care and treatment of detainees are hopelessly inadequate according to Lawyers for Human Rights.

The lawyers' Witwatersrand regional committee made an in-depth study of the commission's findings in the light of evidence at the inquest of Dr Neil Aggett who, at the time of his death on February 5 1982, was being held in terms of section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

They find that the evidence brings the assumptions of the Rabie Commission into question, such as that the system of police interrogation of political detainees is supervised carefully and protects the health of detainees.

Evidence was found to contradict these assumptions in that a magistrate was denied access to Dr Aggett after a lengthy interrogation, and on another occasion an inspector of detainees was denied access.

Police are found to have failed to have regard for Dr Aggett's welfare in that the district surgeon was not consulted as to the effects of prolonged interrogation or of the effect of certain types of interrogation; the officer charged with visiting Dr Aggett's cell every hour did not do so; and Dr Aggett's need for sleep was ignored, as was his right to limited exercise.

Lawyers for Human Rights claim that the directions issued by the Minister of Law and Order that aim to secure the health and welfare of the de-

tainee are unlikely to do so because they lack the status of law and are simply internal departmental directives.

This means they need not be enforced by the courts or any independent body. Instead it will be left to the police to police themselves.

The lawyers' report says clauses in the directives enable police to evade the spirit of the directives. For example, detainees shall have decent facilities "where practicable".

Particularly criticised was section 29 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1962, which allows indefinite detention for the purpose of interrogation and excludes the two main safeguards for a detainee — judicial protection, and visits by people who are not State officials, such as relatives or a private doctor.

"While section 29 remains in force in its present form one cannot really expect an improvement in conditions in detention. Given this fact, any recommendations for an improvement of the Minister's directions inevitably have a cosmetic quality," the report says.

Lawyers for Human Rights recommend that:

- The Minister's directions be given force of law.
- The terms "torture" and "inhuman or degrading treatment" be defined so that it is not left to the police to decide the meaning.
- An independent ombudsman be given authority to ensure compliance with the directions.
- Security Police be informed, preferably by lawyers and medical experts, about the hazards of interrogation to the health of the detainee.

CSO: 3400/1574

LEADING AFRIKANER COLUMNIST VIEWS CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 12 Jun 83 p 28

[Article by Otto Krause]

[Text]

WE Afrikaners, like the Japanese, have a wonderful knack of making other peoples' contributions our own.

So it is with rugby, today proudly played as Afrikanerdom's foremost sport (infinitely more than *jakkal*). And rare is the rugby fan in Rymsigbult who acknowledges that the game was invented on the playing fields of an English public school...

So, too, is it with the Westminster constitutional system, that admirably humble British admission that no group of men, however wise, has the final word on how men should be governed.

Grafted on to its earlier republican democracies, Afrikanerdom has clasped the Westminster system to its bosom and made it its own. Like rugby with its cut and thrust, Westminster has suited the Afrikaner character exceedingly well — and Afrikanerdom's purposes.

Not only are Westminster's constitutional customs and conventions congenial, but it also provides for strong management. Furthermore, with its basis of winner-takes-all, the system enabled Afrikaner nationalism legitimately to

triumph in the aftermath of the British conquest.

With the restricted franchise negotiated at Vereeniging in 1902, and again enshrined in the Act of Union, the Afrikaner majority simply needed to unite at the polls to gain power (although thereby hangs a tortuous tale).

Churlish

Having adopted Westminster to such advantage, even lovingly, it was therefore somewhat churlish when we Afrikaner Nationalists in the seventies — realizing that the franchise needed to be opened to the coloureds and Indians — started railing against "Westminster".

Yet what we were really railing against was not Westminster, but against a system of winner-takes-all within a new context, with in an electorate that needed to be broadened but at whose hands the historic Afrikaner vision of nationhood might be destroyed.

With coloureds and Indians on a common roll, the danger was that they could put into power a party such as the PFP which in turn is committed to extending the franchise to the blacks on a one-man-one-vote basis. And that, of course, would

put paid to exactly what Afrikanerdom stands for.

Hence the proposal for a tri-cameral parliament, designed to avoid a threat which clearly exists at this stage.

Such calculation and contrivance is perfectly legitimate in Westminster's terms. After all, when the Whigs opened the franchise to the middle classes with the first Reform Bill in 1832, they calculated that mainly THEIR kind of people would vote.

Similarly did the Tories calculate when in 1867 they extended the electorate further to include a lower stratum of THEIR kind of voter.

And to Conservatives who complained that he had gone too far, their Prime Minister, Lord Derby, replied: "Yes, but don't you see that we have dashed the Whigs?"

In a like manner Westminster contrived a federation in Canada, to cope with fears and offer advantage.

Our Westminster system is infinitely adaptable, and superbly so in a situation where the growth of peoples needs to be paralleled by constitutional growth — just as happened in Britain over the years.

Westminster is essentially a system of constitution-

al development by accretion, with advance achieved layer upon layer. And that is exactly what is happening in South Africa today, in typical Westminster fashion, by calculation, contrivance and adaptation — despite the loud but dubious claims that we are moving away from Westminster.

Look at several points:

● Westminster makes its constitutional advances by decision of Cabinet and the ruling party. "All-time" constitutions, like that of the US, are constructed by national conventions (and are supposed to be "nobler").

However much some people may wish to see the workings of the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council as a kind of mini-convention, the fact is that Cabinet and party decided on our constitutional advances.

● It is claimed that we are to have an executive president, French or American-style. But this is merely in name, for it is difficult to discern much difference between that office and the office of our present Prime Minister.

Ideal

Only one significant power is added, the president's power to decide what

is common and what is particular to the three chambers.

● Westminster is antipathetical to a rigid separation of powers, and works on the basis of a legislature managed by the executive — whereas an American president needs to woo Congress.

Clearly our President/PM will be forced to manage the three chambers, for he has no separate power base by being directly elected — and so we will continue much as before.

Along with the Mother of Parliaments we will say: Up you, Montagu!

● It is but a short hop from bi-cameral Westminster to our tri-cameral proposal — a simple adaptation to South Africa's political circumstances.

And if anybody avers that chambers whose membership is arbitrarily determined (in our case by ethnicity) are alien to Westminster, let them remember that the British still maintain one chamber whose members are quite arbitrarily selected — by birth and political appointment.

Structurally and in method of constitutional growth, Westminster is still clearly with us and remains the wellspring of the South African system.

Most significantly, Westminster's constitutional conventions are to be retained on the statute book; and by sheer weight of practised tradition will the system continue to shove us along.

Afrikaners have made Westminster THEIR system, but it is equally true that the open-ended nature of constitutional growth that so characterises Westminster makes it ideal for South Africa. For when it comes to the coloureds and

the Indians we are obviously not at the end of the road.

Stability

So much for constitution-making with the brown peoples of South Africa, who, especially in the case of the coloureds, share the closest historic relationship with us whites, and for that reason must be accommodated under our Westminster umbrella.

Far more important for the peace of our land is a settlement with the blacks. This is a matter which one would have preferred to have seen enjoying a priority on South Africa's agenda, for political stability in a situation such as ours is only attained when the major forces at play engineer a deal.

These forces are of course white nationalism and black nationalism in its various forms. And since politics is about power, white power needs to settle with black power, so as to secure not only civil peace, but also the mutual advantage that can accrue when a developing people live cheek by jowl with a developed people.

Unfortunately neither Westminster, nor any constitutional system comprising a single-nation state, houses two competing nationalisms happily, or with much prospect of stability.

Hoary experience has shown that such relationships are best regulated by the rules that order the dealings of nation with nation.

Hence the requirement that we and the blacks should get together as nations, and not within a single state merely to satisfy the urges of the proponents of black dominance or to delight the ideological proclivities of the left.

It is only as nations that we can come together as equals — and keep our powder dry, which is of course necessary for anybody's feelings for security.

The pushers for a single black-white South Africa should also keep in mind an important axiom of our experience: this is that no nation or group willingly shares power with another nation or group that manifestly poses a threat to it.

That surely is why the Anglo-Boer War was fought. Faced with a demand to share power with people flooding into their land, who moreover, were backed up by threatening British might, the Transvaalers quite naturally chose to take up arms.

And this lesson, obviously, had nothing to do with race, for the Uitlanders and the British were, after all, white.

Similarly, the continuing ethos of white South Africans is such that they would have recourse to arms rather than submit to "power sharing" with blacks — which they perceive as nothing more than a euphemism for black dominance, and a threat to their existence.

My axiom has, however, an obverse side. Today, for instance we see Afrikaners gladly sharing power with English South Africans, who are, firstly a minority and secondly, since the demise of imperial power in Southern Africa, are no longer backed by the British threat.

Copy-cat

Not surprising too, is it that most Afrikaners — the exceptions being those who remain bedazzled by an imported racial ideology — are today quite willing to share power with coloureds

and Indians, for they also pose no threat.

Looking again to the question of a settlement with blacks we must realise that while it is a cardinal fact that South Africa plays host to two major competing nationalisms, it is equally cardinal that we happen to be a land of nations without borders.

We and the blacks live wonderfully intermingled, a situation of reciprocal benefit. Yet furthermore, our two nationalisms also maintain territorial bases. We are indeed unique in the world.

This, of course, is too much for tight little Western minds which when ordering the world cannot dream of anything but nations in which everybody of the same cultural kind is gathered together in the same country (as happened in Europe, and as copy-cat rightists believe should happen here), or in which everybody is assimilated into the same value structure (as happened in America, and as our copy-cat leftists believe should happen here).

Cues

But here we must not take our cues from the West, because our facts simply do not fit in with its intellectual fashions, that after all, do come and go.

A settlement with South Africa's blacks must rather take cognisance of those two cardinal factors, our nationalisms and their territorial bases, and the intermingling of all our peoples — a situation holding exciting possibilities.

The uniqueness of South Africa's broader mix thus demands that we come up with something quite new — new for Westminster and new for the world.

MINERAL RESEARCH SEEN VITAL FOR UPTURN

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 4 Jun 83 p 13

[Text]

RECESSION in world metal markets has shown the need for research into the cost-efficient extraction of South African minerals, according to the Council for Mineral Technology (Mintek).

Mintek's 1982 report says the products of many developments launched when mineral sales were doing well a few years ago are coming on to an oversupplied market.

"This simply means that the situation for the remainder of this decade will be one of survival of the fittest, and those who survive will be in a very advantageous position as the world economy takes an upward trend.

"Research and development are among the most important factors that will ensure the fitness of an industry in a highly competitive situation," says the report.

"As early as 1973 when the buoyant market for uranium changed to one of oversupply, it was decided that research and development in uranium should be redirected to the leaching process with the

aim of increased cost effectiveness.

"In a fundamental approach to the problem, researchers at Mintek set out to gain an understanding of the dissolution characteristics of each of the minerals in uranium ores in order to predict their leaching behaviour.

"Research staff then visited producing uranium plants to establish current practice and performance and to cost the leaching sections and isolate the areas of high cost."

Since then laboratory leaching procedures have been developed to simulate plant behaviour and these will be followed by plant-scale tests to show the recommended procedures can be implemented.

"Conditions for the minimum consumption of reagents or the maximum recovery of uranium have been identified in the context of controlled leaching."

Mintek reports further progress in the study of the resin-in-pulp process for recovering uranium as an alternative to the carbon-in-pulp (CIP) process.

"The results obtained so far indicate the technique is

chemically feasible for the treatment of certain flotation tailings."

Various methods for the elution (recovery) of gold and uranium from the resin are under consideration by Mintek.

Researchers are also looking into the engineering problems associated with the separation of the resin beads from the pulp and the counter-current transportation of the resin.

Resin beads are smaller than carbon particles and increase the engineering problems associated with the recovery system.

Mintek has classified all the surface gold-mine dumps in South Africa according to type, locality, tonnage and grade in an investigation to find the most suitable method for treating this material.

"The possibility of sequential operations such as flotation followed by wet, high-density magnetic separation are to be subjected to pilot-plant investigation.

"Another possible procedure is heap leaching which, although limited in its application, could prove beneficial for the recovery of gold from low-grade dump deposits.

"South Africa has developed into a major force in the ferrochromium industry and Mintek's continued research in the area of cost reduction and increased efficiency of production is aimed at keeping it in the forefront of this field."

Mintek has started a long-term project into the possible production of new alloys from South African raw materials.

"Three projects, all in the preliminary stages, were initiated: two are related to ferritic stainless steels and the other to high-chromium alloys.

"Another important research programme concerns the maintenance and costs of replacement of materials used in the mining and metallurgical industries.

"Extensive tests were undertaken on the suitability of different steels for use in grinding balls and in lifter bars in grinding mills.

"A study was undertaken on the corrosive qualities of mine waters from the different mines in the Transvaal and Orange Free State and the cost-effectiveness of commercial corrosion inhibitors is being evaluated," the report says.

MALAN DEFENDS NAVAL SWIMMING POOL SEGREGATION

Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 9 Jun 83 p 4

[Text]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, attacked the PFP yesterday for claiming that the segregated use of the Simon's Town naval swimming pool was racial discrimination.

General Malan confirmed during question time that the pool was set aside for use by different race groups on different days.

He told Mr Phillip Nyburgh (PFP Wynberg) that he was not aware of any complaints about this arrangement.

Asked whether he would open the pool to all race groups, General Malan said it was evident from his reply that this

was already being done.

"It is the policy of the SA Defence Force to provide working, living, sports and recreational facilities on an equivalent basis to all its members irrespective of rank, population, language or sex group."

Use of these facilities was arranged to give maximum recognition to the human dignity of each group and to create an environment in which all could live and work happily.

General Malan said this policy was understood and appreciated and it contributed to the spirit of unity in the Defence Force — the strongest weapon against the country's enemies.

"It is thus to be regretted that there are bodies at work who apparently for political gain are undermining this spirit of unity by trying to stir up members of the different population groups against each other by all kinds of imputations and insinuations purporting to amount to racial discrimination."

General Malan said defence policy on swimming pools, including those administered by a club or a mess, was that men and women of different population groups could not use the same pool at the same time under any circumstances.

"The joint use of a swimming pool by men of different population

groups is only permissible in certain circumstances."

Defence Force sports policy was to keep pace with the development of the national sports policy.

"Where practicable, separate sports clubs are to be established for the different population groups."

Where numbers did not justify separate units, teams could be chosen on merit depending on the policy of the provincial sports body concerned.

Alcoholic beverages, meals and refreshments could be served to Defence Force members of all races, General Malan said.

CSO: 3400/1574

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

FOREIGN MIGRANT WORKERS--Some 63 345 people from Mozambique and Zimbabwe had legal employment in South Africa, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said yesterday. Replying to Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (CP, Lichtenburg) he said that, in the past year, 30 102 Black migrant workers from these two countries had been repatriated while a further 4 789 remained in South Africa illegally. The greatest number of legally-employed migrants (50 144) were from Mozambique, as were those repatriated (27 766). The majority of those illegally in South Africa (2 958) were from Zimbabwe. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Jun 83 p 4]

NGKA DISSOCIATES FROM BROEDERKRING--Kimberley.--The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika (NGKA) this week passed a motion requesting its ministers and members to dissociate themselves from the action of the Broederkring. The Broederkring is an association of about 300 ministers from the Black, Indian, Coloured and White churches in the NGK family of churches. This decision means the Black church sides with the White church, since the Broederkring is recognised by both the Coloured and Indian churches, but not by the White church. In the sixth annual synod of the NGKA, which ended in Kimberley yesterday, the Broederkring members were the dissident voice within the NGKA, which aligned itself with the White founder church. Earlier, the synod decided to continue its membership of the South African Council of Churches (SACC).--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Jun 83 p 13]

SCIENTISTS STUDY SOUTH ATLANTIC--Grahamstown--In 1959 Russian sputniks discovered that there is a region over the South Atlantic Ocean, between South Africa and Brazil, where electrons and ions from space penetrate into the earth's atmosphere to a much greater extent than they do anywhere else, except in the polar regions. Since then the Department of Physics at Rhodes University has made this peculiar region, the "South Atlantic Anomaly", one of its chief objects of study. The charged particles ionise the air and affect the transmission of radio waves through it and also cause the molecules of oxygen and nitrogen to give out very faint light, of certain wavelengths, which can be measured with sensitive electronic equipment. On July 29 the SA Agulhas will leave Cape Town on a special research cruise to Gough Island, which is in the region of most intense bombardment by the particles, and will then sail through the "Anomaly" towards the Brazilian coast. It will then return to Gough Island and back to Cape Town. The voyage will take a month. On board will be an assortment of sensitive

electronic devices, radar, radio receivers for Omega transmissions and cosmic radio waves, and sensitive photometers. They will be operated by three members of the Rhodes University Upper Atmosphere Research Group, Prof J A Gledhill, who is organising the expedition, Mr G P Evans and Mr I S Dore. Various other South African organisations will be sending along scientists to make other kinds of observations, including weather, birds and ocean conditions. The project has excited considerable international interest and 20 groups of scientists in eight countries are participating by making measurements in the countries surrounding the area. The project has been code-named Isaac, for International South Atlantic Anomaly Campaign. From the results it is hoped to learn a great deal about the effects of this unique region on the upper atmosphere and on the transmission of radio waves through it. [Text] [Port Elizabeth WEEKEND POST in English 18 Jun 83 p 8]

CAPE BLACKS TO BE RESETTLED--The Black communities of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu in the Cape Peninsula would eventually be resettled in the new residential area of Khayelitsha "new home", the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr G de V Morrison, said yesterday. He could not, however, say when the process would be completed. The three existing Black residential areas would later be made available to the Coloured community. Dr Morrison said orderly and healthy community development made it essential that Blacks in the peninsula were accommodated in a single area. The development of Khayelitsha did not only comprise accommodation; emphasis would be on community development, he said. However, homes would be provided only for those people legally in the peninsula under the Urban Areas Act of 1945. Referring to influx control laws, Dr Morrison said they were still being applied consistently in the western Cape, and that the number of prosecutions arising from "Act 25" was clear proof of this. Dr Morrison said it was the Government's intention that the western Cape should remain the traditional home and workplace of the White and Coloured communities.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 Jun 83 p 1]

MEDUNSA BOYCOTT ENDS--A boycott of lectures has ended at the Medical University of Southern Africa at Pretoria after two suspended student leaders were cleared yesterday of misconduct and reinstated by a disciplinary committee. Prof Thomas Dunston, acting Principal of the University, said yesterday he expected all 800 students who took part in the boycott over nearly two weeks to be back on the campus by the end of the day. The university was temporarily closed on June 9 after students boycotted lectures following the suspension of two senior students and members of the Medical Students' Representative Council, Mr Paul Sefularo and Mr Confidence Moloko. Prof Dunston said the two were suspended for allegedly threatening students wishing to attend a performance at the State Theatre but the disciplinary committee had found insufficient evidence against them.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Jun 83 p 11]

BLACKS REJECT OTTAWA DECISION--Kimberley --The Black Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) has voted against endorsing the Ottawa decision taken by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches last year that apartheid is a heresy. A motion endorsing the Ottawa decision to suspend the White NGK on the basis that apartheid is a sin, that its theological justification undermines the

Gospel, and that it amounts to theological heresy, was supported by only four delegates with 88 voting against. At least 50 delegates did not vote. The motion was put by the Rev Lesiba Matsaung from Messina and the Rev Michael Koli from East London. The Indian Reformed Church in Africa and the Coloured NG Sendingkerk, supported the Ottawa decision and have since endorsed their stand, virtually severing their ties with the White founder church. The delegates abstained from voting in Ottawa, although they created the impression in Tuesday night's debate that they voted in favour of calling apartheid a sin, but abstained only from suspending membership of the White churches.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Jun 83 p 16]

SUGAR MILL WORKERS LAID OFF--Durban.--About 2 000 workers at four Hulett sugar mills in Zululand were retrenched yesterday because of the effects of the drought. The workers received full leave pay as well as promises for a guaranteed 70 percent of their normal wages for the next six months, after which the company will review the situation. In the event of early spring rains the mills at Amatikulu, Felixton, Darnall and Empangeni may reopen and all the workers will be taken back.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Jun 83 p 3]

RESETTLEMENT PLAN HIT--Cape Town.--The Government's announced intention to move the residents of the firmly-established Black townships of Nyanga, Langa and Guguletu to the new Khayelitsha township was nothing short of incredible, Mr Pat Rogers, MP, said yesterday. In a statement issued in Cape Town Mr Rogers (NRP King William's Town) said this was another example of the Government's inability to come to terms with the realities of urbanisation. This, coupled with its fixation on herding people into an ideological mould, made a mockery of the Government's declared intention to improve inter-group relations. The NRP firmly believed the uprooting of communities for ideological purposes had to cease immediately.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Jun 83 p 5]

SAUDI BAN ON PILGRIMS--The Saudi Government's ban on Muslims obtaining visas at Jeddah, gateway to Islam, remains a serious problem for South African pilgrims. There is no Saudi embassy in South Africa and a loophole which South African Muslims were using when the ban came into effect more than six weeks ago has been closed this week with the banning of South African passport holders from entering Kenya. The pilgrims were flying to Nairobi, where Saudi Airlines took their travel documents to the Saudi embassy for visa endorsements. This was a frustrating procedure, according to haj (pilgrimage) agents here, because South African passport holders had to wait at the airport for three or four days. But it was a way out. One Johannesburg booking agent is still waiting for the return of a batch of about 100 passports which he gave to foreign airline crewmen more than two weeks ago to hand over to Saudi Airline authorities in Nairobi for visa endorsement. Another agent who flew to Kenya with a batch of passports got tired of waiting in the airport building, so he went to Ethiopia for the visas before returning to Johannesburg. Reports are circulating in the Muslim world that the Saudi visa clampdown was a deliberate move to limit the number of pilgrims to Mecca as a security measure against an expected

large-scale religious demonstration by Iranian-motivated militants. [Yussuf Nazeer] [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 16 Jun 83 p 6M]

DURBAN DRY DOCK REPAIRS--The dry dock here will be out of action for at least two months early next year while the caisson gate is being repaired in Durban. The 37-year-old gate, commissioned in 1946, has been repaired once--sometime in the early sixties, according to the system harbour engineer, Mr Claude Agnew. Under normal circumstances, caisson gates are inspected and repaired every five years. The gate here had lasted well, Mr Agnew said, but added that its steel plates and timber-metal seals were now giving problems and were in need of repair. The gate will be towed to Durban by a tug. Maintenance work of harbour craft here, including dredgers, tugs and the floating crane, would not be affected, Mr Agnew said. "The repairs to the gate have been timed to coincide with our harbour craft maintenance programme which will resume when the gate is back in place," he added. Meanwhile, the 10-ton Bedford crane which has seen duty at F shed and most recently at N shed on the West Bank will be moved to C berth which will serve as a repair jetty, Mr Agnew said. The four-ton crane which was moved to the graving dock a few months ago, and which had to be rewired, will be commissioned in two or three months' time. [Excerpt] [East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 27 May 83 p 5]

NEW CONTAINER SERVICE--Cape Natal Line's versatile Natal Hustler entered service this week between Durban and Cape ports. She sailed with a full load of containers from Durban on May 22 for East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town and will be trading on a regular weekly schedule between Durban and Cape ports. She has a capacity for 111 containers and is similar to her sister ship, the Cape Hustler which inaugurated the Cape Natal Line service over three and a half years ago. The Natal Hustler differs from her Cape counterpart in that she has an additional Ro-ro facility which has made it possible for East London to be included as a port of call, according to a CNL statement issued from Durban this week. The managing director of CNL, Mr Richard Siedle, visited East London on Monday and complimented SATS and port officials "on being most co-operative". The Natal Hustler, which was scheduled to berth at S berth, ran into trouble as far as the angle of the quay was concerned and arrangements were made to allow her to dock at K corner. Natal Hustler, which will call here every Tuesday southbound for Cape Town, is represented at all ports by Sturrocks Ships Agency Co. [Excerpt] [East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 27 May 83 p 5]

MUSLIMS CLASH--On the eve of Ramadaan, the Muslim month of fasting, the president of the Islamic Council of South Africa, Sheik Abu-Bakr Najaar said this week that Muslims had a "very definite choice": Either to adhere to the faith or to follow the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, in his new political dispensation. He said Muslims in the council who accepted the new deal would be expelled. His message is reported in THE DAILY NEWS today on Page 20. Reacting to his statement today, Mr Abdullah Khan, who led the Sydenham Muslim Society out of the council, said a person could follow Islam and respect the Government. "We have no choice. Islam prohibits a lot of things and Muslim leaders should deal with those things and leave politics to the politicians." Mr Abubaker Ismail, of the Jumma Masjid Board of

Trustees who also quit the council, said their decision was based on the fact that the council was indulging in politics. "We are a religious body. We joined the council on those lines. Now that the council has indulged in politics, the trustees felt this was not right. The decision was taken by eight of the trustees. It was unanimous," said Mr Ismail. "We have not accepted the Government's constitutional proposals. But we do live in a multi-racial society and the new dispensation is under discussion by the Indian community," said Mr Ismail. Mr Ismail is a member of the South African Indian Council. [Text] [Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 10 Jun 83 p 3]

INDIANS IN JOHANNESBURG--A member of the South African Indian Council (Saic) wants Johannesburg declared an "international" city to end the critical housing problem once and for all. "Officially, there are over 7 000 Indians on the Department of Community Development's waiting list," said Mr Abie Choonara. "But there must be twice as many coloureds who are waiting for homes and the figures for whites and blacks will be just as high, if not higher. The proclamation of a part of Mayfair for Indian occupation will not ease the problem. Only people who have high incomes will be able to afford the houses in Mayfair. What about the middle and lower income groups? It seems they will remain on the waiting list forever." Mr Choonara said his idea of providing accommodation for all would be for the State to make Johannesburg an "international" city. He concedes that the Government will not withdraw the Group Areas Act and that the deproclamation of areas for other race groups is a waste of money. Mr Choonara said Johannesburg was the only city in the country where non-whites were prosecuted for living in white areas and that no amount of action would stop the influx of "illegals" into the city area. "The 'international' permit could be issued to the Johannesburg City Council who would then administer the city, according to its by-laws. This plan should be given a five-year trial and I am certain that the result will be an eye-opener," said Mr Choonara. [Boeti Eshak] [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 12 Jun 83 p 41]

WHITE-COLLAR CRIME--Suth Africa's once-enviable reputation of being a country of honest folk is no longer justified. Last year staff dishonesty cost local companies an estimated R600-million. To put this figure into perspective, it is about the same as the annual turnover of packaging giant Nampak and almost double that of clothing retailer Edgars. According to figures compiled by the country's leading insurance broker, Price-forbes Federale Volkskas (PFV), staff dishonesty accounts for about 75% of all theft losses. The national claims manager of PFV, Gene Fivaz, says that his company settled a record total of 125 000 theft claims last year--an increase of 54% on 1981. It appears that the temptation of stealing from one's employers has increased along with the hardening in economic conditions. Mr Fivaz tells BUSINESS TIMES that he was helped in gleaning the information by suppliers, who, after finding large discrepancies between what left their warehouses and actually arrived at the buyers, decided to investigate. He said that although the affected parties are the retail chains they are by no means the only sectors which suffer. "Our analysis shows that losses are across the board, from supermarkets to the manufacturing industry. Any company which manufactures marketable commodities is affected. Losses from

employees extend from the largest multi-million empires to the smallest retailer in the outlying districts," Mr Fivaz adds. The police were unable to confirm the growth in employee dishonesty. A spokesman told BUSINESS TIMES that, as there is no central statistical bureau, it is impossible for anyone in the force to comment on the figures. He said: "To get a true picture you would probably have to phone a thousand police stations round the country." [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 12 Jun 83 p 5]

BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES--The Assembly--Preparatory work for the establishment of the first 25 black local authorities was almost complete, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, told the Assembly yesterday. In the debate on his Budget Vote he said that the preparatory work included drawing up standing orders for the various types of local authorities. It also covered drafting a great variety of regulations for matters such as elections, finances, personnel, streets and electricity; and laying down guidelines for the grouping of black residential areas for the creation of local authorities. "The establishment of local authorities is a serious and time-consuming matter and a limited number of communities can be considered during the second half of this year," Dr Koornhof said. The establishment of the local authorities would be implemented in phases. The first phase included: Soweto, Galeshewe (Kimberley), Mamelodi, Daveyton (Benoni), Thabong (Welkom), Atteridgeville (Pretoria), Katlehong (Germiston), Uitenhage, Vosloorus (Boksburg), Tembisa (Kempston Park), Kwa-Tema (Springs), Evaton, Port Elizabeth, Tokoza (Alberton), Kroonstad, Witbank, Grahamstown, Wattville (Benoni), Kagiso (Krugersdorp), Alexandra, Bethlehem, Cradock, Bloemfontein, Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 7 Jun 83 p 6]

LOCAL POLICE SYSTEM--A call was made yesterday for the establishment of both local and national police forces. Mr Manie Venter, city treasurer of Johannesburg, said at the Institute of Town Clerks conference in Port Elizabeth that if a new constitutional dispensation was to be introduced, the division of duties between the various levels of government should also be looked at. "The simple fact that a certain service is traditionally performed by a specified governmental tier should not influence us in the least," he said. "The only consideration should be who is the most intimately affected by the performance of the service in question." He suggested that: National and local police forces be established with the local police force being controlled by the local authority. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Jun 83 p 19]

CSO: 3400/1574

MAJOR COAL STRIKE IN LUBHUKA REPORTED

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 30 Jun 83 p 1

[Article by Mandla Magagula]

[Text] ABOUT 186 MILLION tons of coal reserves have been discovered in Swaziland. This was confirmed yesterday by the head of the coal unit in the Department of Geological Surveys and Mines, Mr Simon Maphanga.

"We have discovered 186 million tons of coal reserves in the Lubhuku area of the Swaziland coal field," Mr Maphanga said.

"This was during the first two phases of the deep coal drilling project which is being carried out jointly with Japan."

"The interesting point here is that the official figure for the whole coal field in 1976 was 200 million tons of coal - about 40 times this area we are working on."

The third phase of the deep coal drilling project will cost about E800 000.

"We have been allocated E94 000 for the third phase of the project," Mr Maphanga said.

"Japan, our co-sponsors of the project, will put up E700 000 for this phase of the project," he added.

Mr Maphanga said the first two phases of the project on the Swaziland coal field had already been completed.

The Swaziland government had already submitted proposals to Japan on the third phase of the project. The first two phases had been conducted on a selected 98 square kilometres area in the Lubhuku area of the Lubombo district.

Mr Maphanga said following the submission of proposals for the third phase, Japan this week sent in three experts for preliminary coal exploration discussions with government.

The mission arrived in the country on Monday. They have held discussions with the Director of Geological Surveys and Mines, Mr Allen Dlamini, and the Principal Secretary for Commerce, Industry, Mines and Tourism, Mr Percy Mngomezulu.

The discussions, Mr Maphanga said, would centre on more detailed work on drilling operations in a selected smaller area than had hitherto been the case.

"We want to get more accurate information by working on a smaller area," he said.

CSO: 3400/1575

TOGO PRESIDENT OF SIXTEEN YEARS PROFILED

Brussels LE SOIR in French 24 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Etienne Ugeux: "Togo: Eyadema, the Conciliator"]

[Text] Lome, the capital of Togo, gained international attention due to the accords signed there in 1975 and 1979 linking the countries of the European economic community and the A.C.P. (countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific). Lome owes this fame to the chief of state of the Togolese republic, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, president for the last 16 years, who is currently being officially received in Brussels by the European economic community.

The general has instituted a strong regime and has founded a single party (the "Rassemblement du peuple togolais" [Union of the Togolese]), a phenomenon observed in many African countries. This has brought about the birth of some opposition, another classic phenomenon, which has banded together in France but finds little support within the country. And Togo is no longer a subject of concern for Amnesty International. Quite the contrary, in 1982, the Association of Young African lawyers, whose Senegalese president holds no sympathy for autocratic regimes, was held in Lome. That is a valid reference. Furthermore, Togo is one of the few countries on the black continent to have ratified the African human rights charter.

General Eyadema, who was born in December 1935 in Pya in the prefecture of Kozah, served ten years in the French army in Indonesia, Algeria, France, Benin and Niger, for which he was awarded the military Legion of Honor.

Following independence in 1960, he returned to his country to organize a then practically non-existent army.

In 1963, he intervened for the first time in politics to put an end to a system he believed to be contrary to the nation's interests, then he returned power as he had promised to the politicians, who once again began tearing each other apart.

On 13 January 1967, he again put an end to the government's incompetence in the face of the fratricidal battles which were shaking the country. He accepted the highest office of the land and formed his government in April,

suspending the activities of the former parties in favor of a single party. He justified this decision by emphasizing that he intended to put an end to internal quarrels which were threatening to end up in a civil war. Struggling to reconcile the people of the South and the North, he escaped several assassination attempts, whose perpetrators were sentenced to death but were not executed.

General Eyadema has also played the mediator's role on the inter-African scene. He was there at the beginning of the Convention of West African States. He successfully intervened in 1967 in the disagreement between Nigeria and the Ivory Coast over the war in Biafra. In 1974, he convinced Mali and Upper Volta to resolve a border dispute. In 1977, he contributed to Guinea's reconciliation with the Ivory Coast and Senegal. Since 1980, he has taken an active part in restoring civil peace to Chad which, alas, was short-lived.

General Eyadema, for whom peace and development are inseparable, likes to resort to dialog like his Ivorian counterpart, Houphouet-Boigny, and he has always extolled peaceful coexistence.

Shortly before Francois Mitterrand's visit to his country last January, General Eyadema recognized that the situation in his country, one of the least advanced economically, does not look particularly bright.

In spite of the government's stability, this former German colony (twice as large as Belgium, with a total of 2.7 million inhabitants divided into some 40 ethnic groups) has suffered considerably from the drought and is strongly affected by the drop in the price of phosphate, its main source of wealth, followed by cacao and coffee. Moreover, Togo must import its energy. That is why it is planning a big dam on the Mono River which would lessen this dependence.

Faced with the worldwide crisis, the government in Lome has taken a whole series of austerity measures, notably a five percent reduction in all workers' salaries under the title of national solidarity tax.

During his talks with E.E.C. leaders, President Eyadema will have the chance to present all these problems. He will also meet some Belgian ministers, no doubt with the secret hope of laying the foundations for cooperation with our country.

9895

CSO: 3419/1018

UPPER VOLTA REGIME PROFILED

London AFRICA NOW in English Jun 83 pp 23-24

[Text]

Just one week before Upper Volta's People's Salvation Council marked its first six months in power on May 7, Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi flew in to Ouagadougou from neighbouring Cotonou, saying he had come to support the country's "revolutionary" military government.

Some ten days before that, Voltaic Head of State, Major Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo, was in Accra being greeted as a "brother" by his Ghanaian counterpart Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, before also going on to Cotonou for talks with the head of Benin's Marxist government, General Mathieu Kerekou.

Add to that Voltaic Prime Minister Thomas Sankara's first two trips abroad since the coup of November 7, to Libya and North Korea, and his speech at the Non-aligned Movement's conference in New Delhi, and a picture emerges of a radical socialistic and populist regime which has the task of improving the lot of 6.5m people in one of the world's poorest countries.

It is also a regime which said it would return to barracks within two years, after bringing the country back to "normal constitutional life." Sceptics familiar with the usual scenario of military coups might think otherwise, but after six months there had been no reason to doubt that the *Conseil du Salut du Peuple* (CSP) would not follow the example of Jerry Rawlings' Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) in 1979, provided it lasts that long against internal and external pressures.

Since the November 7 coup overthrew the two-year-old regime of Colonel Saye Zerbo, which had manifestly failed to make any headway against the country's enormous problems, the CSP has been groping its way towards a coherent policy which, underneath all the rhetoric, might work. At least it has not been tried before in Upper Volta.

The coup was launched by junior officers and other ranks, under the leadership of Ouedraogo (40) a French-trained army doctor and a Catholic from the dominant Mossi people. Sankara (37), a widely popular paratroop officer of mixed parentage who had resigned as Information Minister from the Zerbo government the previous April and been downgraded for criticising the lack of free speech, was only named Prime Minister in January, but in spite of denials is generally believed to have at least known about the plot.

In his first press conference, Ouedraogo said the main task of the regime was to restore order and reorganise the armed forces and state apparatus, to establish true social justice, to guarantee individual and collective freedoms while respecting human rights, to encourage economic, social and cultural development, to progress towards normal constitutional life.

Familiar words, many of them, which in similar cases have quickly lost their value. But the CSP's first actions were also encouraging. It allowed complete freedom of the Press and radio, cancelled the annual youth day of work because it was "useless," arrested numerous officials for fraud and corruption (including just-appointed Trade and Industry Minister Clement Bambara after earlier misdeeds came to light), and freed from imprisonment leaders of the Third Republic detained under Zerbo, notably former President Sangoule Lamizana and ex-Prime Minister Joseph Conombo. These two were, however, kept under house arrest pending trial for alleged offences committed in office which were already being investigated.

The government also lifted the ban on trade unions, including the influential *Confederation Syndicale Voltaïque*, whose secretary-general, Soumane Touré, emerged from hiding. A truce was tacitly

agreed between labour and government initially, with both sides urging moderation and responsibility.

Taking office on February 2, Sankara said the government would do away with "folklore, charlatanism and improvisation," rid the country of "humiliating tutelage and exploited dependence," and do its best to "feed the people, give them clean water to drink, clothe and shelter them and provide schooling and health care."

But his choice of words (he said *le peuple* 59 times in his inaugural address) aroused suspicions in some minds which were confirmed five weeks later in New Delhi, when his targets included the "combined manoeuvres of imperialism and Zionism." However, Sankara has denied that he was a member of the *Ligue Patriotique pour le Developpement* (LIPAD), a movement linked to the Marxist *Parti Africain de l'Independence*.

Meanwhile, the CSP was busy on a massive public information exercise, sending its members throughout the country to explain its ideas to a population which is 95% illiterate and holding two public meetings in Ouagadougou, when Ouedraogo and other CSP members answered questions from the crowd. The main theme was giving Upper Volta's 90% rural population the motivation to produce more crops, involving them in development plans and giving them control over their land. Ouedraogo has spelled out the priorities as agriculture, private investment, road improvement, research, mining and water power.

Economically, with cfa francs 3bn needed just to balance the 1983 budget, the country cannot afford to alienate the major Western donors on which it is largely dependent. Right at the beginning, Ouedraogo said that all existing agreements would be honoured, and the anti-imperialist line conceals a definite pragmatism which aid agencies and Western governments appear to recognise.

Even so, the aid programme is chaotic, and proper planning and co-ordination would do much to improve matters.

The CSP is also ready to diversify. Sankara's trip to Libya and the visit of four Libyan missions to Ouagadougou in the first six months, capped by Col. Gadaffi's arrival, have made for close relations between Ouagadougou and Tripoli. Sankara himself said Libya had paid "particular attention" to Upper Volta, an interest which culminated in the signing of a \$10m economic aid agreement in Tripoli. Projects include a joint bank and cattle-raising company, assistance in broadcasting, and help for Upper Volta's Moslem community to build mosques and schools.

The CSP has already weathered one coup attempt in its first half year. Apparently engineered by disgruntled sections of the army and politicians, it was nipped in the bud and a number of arrests made, including that of Joseph Ouedraogo, a prominent political figure who had helped to bring about the country's first military takeover and whose disruptive struggle for power prompted the second and third.

Other threats to the regime could come from the trade unions, regular topplers of government in Upper Volta, if the CSP cannot meet their demands at a time of rising unemployment. There have even been reports that President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of neighbouring Ivory Coast would not turn down the chance of a little destabilisation. Ivory Coast, where many Voltaics work, regards Upper Volta as its hinterland and a young dynamic regime preaching individual liberty and anti-colonialism would not be to the taste of the ageing autocrat in Yamoussoukro.

Significantly, Ouedraogo, who has denied that the CSP was leading Upper Volta into a "red peril," did not visit Ivory Coast in his April tour of his landlocked country's neighbours, which had the declared intention of improving regional co-operation ●

DISSIDENT ACTIVITIES IN MATABELELAND REPORTED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 25 May 83 p 6

[Text]

ZIMBABWE: THE LULL IN THE WEST. Since Robert Mugabe's bold and conciliatory speechmaking foray into northern Matabeleland earlier this month, there have been hopes that the Zimbabwe government is beginning to tackle the ZAPU/Ndebele problem at its political - rather than military - roots. But our information is that the ZANU central committee hardliners are still the chief policymakers: they believe that the dissidents in the west can be militarily crushed and the rump of ZAPU, minus its leader Joshua Nkomo, absorbed by coercion into a one-party system. Although the western region has been quieter than it was in January and February, we understand the underlying dissident problem is still very serious:

1. Very few renegade ZIPRA guerrillas have been captured. Nearly all the deaths in the west have been caused by the dissidents themselves, who are reckoned to be responsible for killing around 20 whites, or by the national army, in particular the North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade, which is reckoned to have slaughtered at the very least 1,000 civilians.
2. The dissident command structure is intact, with some of the same district commanders who held sway in the independence war now controlling guerrillas in the same areas.
3. The dissident presence has spread, especially from north to south.
4. Plans discussed in the national high command to ZANU-ise the national army still further may produce more recruits for the dissidents.
5. There are strong indications that the dissidents have been resupplied. No firm evidence has yet come to light, but South Africa is the prime suspect. The dissidents are armed with the standard AK47, many of which were cached after the war. But some of them are said to be almost new (1981). The South Africans are reckoned now to manufacture their own AKs, and have also captured many tons of Soviet-made equipment in Angola.
6. Though discouraged by the governments of Botswana and Zambia, it is suspected that the dissidents have established camps in bush areas of both countries. There has been a report that the six tourists (two American, two British, two Australian) kidnapped in July 1982 may have been taken out of Zimbabwe and may still be alive.
7. The demands of the dissidents remain consistent. They want a role for their acknowledged leaders in the Zimbabwe cabinet. The four leaders always mentioned are Nkomo, Dumiso Dabengwa (former chief commissar), Lt. Gen. Lookout Masuku (ZIPRA commander), and Josiah Chinamano, ZAPU vice-president. The key figure is Dabengwa, who, with Masuku, is detained without trial, having been acquitted last month of treason charges. If the four men were rehabilitated, there is a real chance that Mugabe could reestablish harmony in the west. He has been trying to co-opt Chinamano, but - as a Shona-speaker - he would be unlikely to carry the ZIPRA dissidents with him, however much he is respected. At present it is most unlikely that Mugabe

would consider bringing Nkomo back into office in Zimbabwe, but that eventually still cannot be ruled out in the longer term.

Mugabe would also have to embark on a massive investment and aid policy in Matabeleland. At present, however, the overall economy is coming under increasing strain. Maize production, for instance, has fallen from 3m tonnes in 1980, to 1.4m in 1982, with 650,000 expected this year. National consumption is about a million tonnes. ●

CSO: 3400/1599

BRIEFS

ASIAN EMPLOYERS WARNED--Asian employers have been warned against laying off black workers. The government's parliamentary chief whip, Comrade Naison Muroyiwa, told parliament yesterday that the government might take action against Asian employers who continue to lay off workers. He said these companies owned by what he called, (Jung) and others, in turn owned by Zimbabwean Indians, had laid off hundreds of workers. Comrade Muroyiwa said if these firms continue to behave in this way the world should not blame the government of Zimbabwe, tomorrow for taking appropriate action. [Text] [MB020901 Harare Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 2 Jul 83]

BELGIUM DONATES TRUCKS--Zimbabwe has received 20 trucks and spare parts worth 212,000 dollars from the Belgian Government. The trucks were received by the deputy minister of national supplies, Comrade (Moses Ndenge) from the Belgian ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr (Philip Burg) in Harare today. Comrade (Ndenge) said the trucks would go a long way in contributing to rural development, which is a major priority of the government. [Excerpt] [MB061857 Harare Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 6 Jul 83 MB]

NEW ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR--The Romanian ambassador to Zimbabwe, Comrade Gheorghe Badrus, today presented his credentials to the president, Comrade Canaan Banana, at State House in Harare. The diplomat's predecessor, Comrade Petre Blajovici, left Zimbabwe last year. Comrade Badrus' accreditation comes a few days before the official visit of the Romanian president, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to Zimbabwe. [Text] [MB071909 Harare Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 7 Jul 83 MB]

AGREEMENT WITH NORWAY--Zimbabwe and Norway have signed a 2 million dollar agreement to develop communal water supplies and sanitation in Zimbabwe. The agreement was signed in Harare today by the minister of water resources and development, Comrade Cephas Msipa, and the Norwegian ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr (Lars Karuste). In line with the UN drinking water supply and sanitation decade, Zimbabwe is hoping to utilize the money from Norway to set up a national master plan for rural water supplies and sanitation. [Excerpt] [MB071909 Harare Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 7 Jul 83 MB]

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